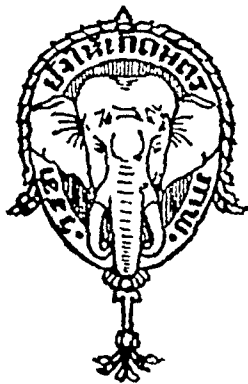


THE SIAM SOCIETY



Selected Articles from
The Siam Society Journal

VOLUME IV

LOPHBURI, BANGKOK, BHUKET

BANGKOK

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Historical Retrospect

OF

Junkceylon Island,

BY

COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M. R. A. S., M. S. S., etc.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. Inadequacy of modern historical accounts of the island ;
neglect of the old sources of information.

A feature that cannot fail to strike anyone in quest of historical information on the Island of Junkceylon in modern works on Siām or in books of general reference, is the conspicuous meagreness of the subject matter supplied under such a heading. Even in the most carefully compiled works, all that relates to the past of that important Siāmesse possession is, as a rule, dismissed with two or three lines not always free from some very gross errors; and not unoften a few more lines are deemed sufficient to deal with whatever else there is to say on the topographic features, natural resources, productions, and inhabitants of the island itself.

Happily, the latter aspects of the subject have recently received far greater attention than heretofore, and we have quite lately been put in possession of very valuable information not only thereanent, but also as regards remains of antiquarian interest on and about the island. However, its historical past still remains a sealed book; and the object of this paper besides presenting a first attempt in that direction is to show that, even leaving aside local sources, there are by no means a few important items to be

gleaned from the accounts of early European travellers and later writers, if one will only take the trouble to glance over the pages of such a class of publications. It is therefore passing strange that none of those writers who have of late years treated of the island in the extant books on Siām or encyclopædias of general information and the like, has thought, or cared, of laying under contribution at least the best known and most accessible of the old sources just referred to. The results obtained from an examination of the limited number of them to which I could gain access, as set forth in these pages, will at least, it is hoped, demonstrate what fruitful harvest can be reaped from such a department of European literature, and how much more could be gathered, should the inquiry be further extended to publications and unpublished MSS. that I had no opportunity to consult.

As regards local documents on the history of the island, although unfortunately not extending further back than the last quarter of the eighteenth century, they supply us with very important information for the following period which cannot be found, in so detailed a form, elsewhere. I could only avail myself of a limited number of such documents, including the records for the first three reigns of the present dynasty, thanks to which the present sketch could be carried down to the middle of the nineteenth century. From that point to the present day there can be no lack of documentary material for anyone inclined to continue the history of the island which, with the further assistance of European publications and of information gathered locally from the mouths of the oldest living inhabitants of the island, might thus easily be carried down to the present day.

2. Remarks on the name of the island.

Of the name of the island various derivations have been suggested, none of which I consider to be satisfactory. Yule and Burnell in their "Hobson-Jobson"¹ quote Forrest² as calling the island *Jan-Sylan* and saying it is properly *Ūjong* (i. e. in Malay,

1. 2nd edition, London 1903, p. 473, s. v. *Junk-ceylon*.

2. "Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago," etc., by [Captain] Thomas Forrest, London, 1792; pp. III and 29-30.

'Cape') *Sylang*, which to them appears to be nearly right. They further add that the name is, according to Crawford,³ 'Salang Headland.' But W. Crooke, the reviser of the new edition of "Hobson-Jobson," inserts within brackets the following remarks by Mr. Skeat who doubts the correctness of the above etymologies. "There is at least one quite possible alternative, *i. e.* *jong salang*, in which *jong* means 'a junk,' and *salang*, when applied to vessels, 'heavily tossing' (see Klinkert, *Dict.* s. v. *salang*). Another meaning of *salang* is 'to transfix a person with a dagger,' and is the technical term for Malay executions, in which the kris was driven down from the collar-bone to the heart." I make bold to remark in my turn that all this is mere guess-work. Mr. Skeat, though undoubtedly being a good authority on Malay matters, ceases to be such on topics exorbitating from the area of his peculiar field, as it clearly appears from the numerous blunders he makes in the course of his remarks in "Hobson-Jobson" on subjects connected with Siām and other parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula lying outside of the present Malay inhabited area.

While in the oldest notices of the island, dating as far back as 1512, its name is given as *Iunsalam* or *Iunsalan* (*Iunsalão* in the Portuguese spelling), the inhabitants have long been known to call it C'halāng, စလၢၣ်, and this is the form adopted in the oldest Siāmes records, while in some of the later and even of the local ones the variant စလၢၣ်, Thalāng, occasionally appears. Surely, the inhabitants ought to know better as to the name of the land that has been their birthplace, than strangers. There cannot consequently be any question that the correct name of the island is, and has been for long ages, C'halāng. Of this Salāng is but the Malay form, adopted doubtless at the period of the Malay invasions of the Malay Peninsula from the opposite shores of Sumatra, which appear to have commenced in the last quarter of the thirteenth

3. "Malay Dictionary," London, 1852, s. v. *Salang*; and "Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and adjacent countries," 1856, s.v. *Ujung*.

century. In the course of their initial reconnoitring voyages and raids along the coasts of the Malay Peninsula, these sea-faring adventurers no doubt noticed the island and from its appearance as a promontory boldly projecting out of the mainland they took it as part and parcel of the latter, thus naming it Ūjong Salāng, the 'Salāng Headland,' for their language possesses no equivalent for the initial *O'h* occurring in the native name of the island, and *S*, *Sh*, or *Z*, are the letters most approaching to it in sound. Although in subsequent expeditions the insular nature of the so called headland doubtless came to be recognised, the original designation persisted to this day, as has been the case with many other misapplied ones. It might be suggested as an alternative that the early Malay adventurers, while fully aware from the very first of the real character of the land, having learnt the name of the island merely applied the designation Ūjong Salāng, 'Salāng Head (or Point)' to the southern promontory of the island itself. I should think, however, that the view first set forth has most chances in its favour of proving after all the correct one. And there can be no doubt that it is from Jong-Salāng, the shortened form of Ūjong Salāng, that the earliest European designations *Iunsalam*, *Iunsalan*, *Junsulan*, *Junsalan*, etc. have been derived, which will appear duly authenticated in the following pages.

Forrest's and Crawford's inferences thus turn out to be correct, in so far as the European derivation and the Malay form of the name of the island are concerned. But where these and later writers erred, is in having thought Ūjong Salāng or Jong Salāng to have been the original name of the island, conferred upon it by Malays. This mistake must be ascribed to the Malay bias that has so far affected most European writers on Malay matters, who have thereby been led to credit the Malay emigrants from Sumatra and Java with the creation and development of whatever forms of civilization have existed on the Malay Peninsula and on other sections of the Indo-Chinese mainland, as well as on the neighbouring islands, prior to the advent of Europeans in these parts.

But such fanciful theories can no longer hold water at the present day when it is patent that purely Malay influence, on the Indo-Chinese mainland especially, is of comparatively modern date

and has been exerted on a very limited area only, although occasional raids from the archipelago are recorded to have occurred from as early as the eighth century A. D., and although the southern part of the Malay Peninsula appears to have, from the last quarter of the seventh century, fallen under the sway of the mighty empire that had then its centre at Palembang, on the East of Sumatra. For this mostly insular empire had, like those on various parts of the Indo-Chinese mainland, grown up and had doubtless also been founded through the instrumentality of immigrant adventurers from India who may be said to have been the earliest colonizers, civilizers, and empire makers of the Further Indian region. The influence exerted from Palembang on the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula from the seventh to the thirteenth century was, therefore, essentially Indian rather than Malay. The purely Malay one commenced only on or about the time of the foundation of the Kingdom of Menang-Kabau in Northern Sumatra late in the thirteenth century, and the expansion of the Javanese Kingdom of Mājapāhit during the latter half of the century next following. Neither did, however, extend further north than the present limits of the Malay States on the Peninsula, which represent, down to this day, the results of those enterprises and are actual evidence as to the extent of the area affected. It is easy to see that the latter did not include Junk-ceylon Island, and had its northern limit a good deal further to the south of it.

In any case, it is to far more remote ages that we must trace the origin of the name of the island. And this brings us back to the very dawn of the Christian Era, if not even several centuries before it. The Malay Peninsula was then inhabited mostly by Negrito populations of which the last descendants are still found surviving in the recesses of its jungles, and by a fair complexioned race undoubtedly of Moñ-Khmër extraction which occupied the litoral as well as some of the islands, having come and settled there from Pegu and Siām. The principal harbours of the coast and trading centres had been taken possession of by colonists, mainly from Southern India, and these had begun not only to develop the resources of the soil, and to establish trading relations with their mother-land and various countries in the West, but also to lay the foundations of petty States that grew afterwards in extent and power. Junk-ceylon Island was undoubtedly well known since that

period, and if not colonized by Indū adventurers, there is reason to believe that its principal seaport was frequented by trading vessels and its tin mines opened to work, as it is certain those of the neighbouring districts on the mainland were.

Under such circumstances it must be assumed that the island possessed then a name, and there is every probability that such a name was the very one, C'halāng, by which it is and has been known to this day. The word is neither Siānese or Malay, nor does it seem traceable to any Indian language. Like other toponyms on the island and indeed on many parts of the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula, it has a Moñ ring about it, and in any case it belongs to the language of the earliest settlers, be they of Moñ or of the aboriginal Negrito stock. We must know something more of the languages of the Semang, Sakai and Selung or Salon tribes (of which latter a settlement appears still to exist on the eastern coast of the island and another on the mainland to the north of it), ere the question can be decided. While regretting having to leave it unsettled for the present, I should like to point out one particular fact that may assist somehow towards its solution. There exists on the West coast of Sumatra, near Rigas Bay a place, *Chellang*, whose name is more correctly written *Chalang*, which may have been so called by the same people who originally applied the designation C'halāng to Junk-ceylon. The two toponyms might be traceable to the same root-word, and thus prove etymologically identical.¹ In such a case there could be

1. If not, the name of the bay at the southern end of the island marked *Kelung*, *Kilong*, *Khelung* in modern maps and charts, but pronounced *C'halong* (wr. ๑๑๑๑) by the natives, may come in handy for a parallel. The present day Moñ call the island "Döng Khalāng," i. e. the Khalāng town, after the name of its historical capital.

Another puzzling place-name on Junk-ceylon Island is that of its southern district, P'hūket (Bhūkech), ๑ ๑๑๑, which, though closely enough resembling the Malay Būkit='a hill,' appears in no way connected with this term. Nor am I inclined to trace it to *Bugi* or *Wugi*, the piratical race from Celebes who overran the west coast of the Malay Peninsula during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the one next following, founding there several settlements; for Bugis are, in the Siānese records of the period, termed *Mu-ngit*, ๑ ๑๑๑, and not Bhūkech.

no doubt that the original word travelled from the Malay Peninsula to Sumatra, and not vice-versa; for there are to be found on the northern part of Sumatra many other places bearing names identical with those of localities not only on the Malay Peninsula, but also further north of it, as far as the coast of Arakan. It seems to me that the people who brought these place-names on to Sumatra cannot be other than the Mōñs, who most assuredly crossed over to the island from the Malay Peninsula at a remote period and spread over at least the northern portion of it where the language spoken in some districts—in Achīn, for instance—is, to this very day, to a considerable extent composed of Moñ words.

Otherwise we must resort to the only other alternative that is left us, namely, that such toponyms are of Indian origin and have been introduced by the Southern-Indian traders who applied them equally to places on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal as to localities in the northern part of Sumatra. Of the nomenclature introduced through such a channel there are not a few well ascertained instances on both regions. The question remains as to whether C'halāng is also of the number, or finally, whether it being neither of Moñ nor Indian origin, it is a loan word from the speech of the aboriginal Negrito tribes once inhabiting the country.

3. General survey of the early history of the Island.

The early history of the island is wrapped in deep mystery, and it is only by circumstantial evidence that we can infer what its status may have been prior to the dawn of the thirteenth century when it makes its first appearance on the scene of the world's history. As we have seen, its earliest inhabitants were undoubtedly Negritos, similar to the present Semang still found not very far away on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, and to the Andamanese living at no great distance on the large cluster of islands to the West of it. The fact of Junkceylon Island lying between these two shreds of territory that have remained to this very day in occupation of Negrito tribes, clearly argues that its aboriginal population cannot have been of a different race. This was, naturally, in the course of time gradually supplanted by off-shoots of the Moñ (or Moñ-Khmër) family that

proceeded thither from Fegu, among which the *Selung* or *Salon* are probably to be classed. These peculiar maritime tribes of expert divers and swimmers, known to the Siānese as C'hāu Nam, 𑜋𑜪𑜨 𑜏𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫, (“Waterfolk”) still inhabit the numerous islands of the Mergui Archipelago down to a point not far to the north of Junk-ceylon; and we have had occasion to notice that even on the island itself, and on the neighbouring mainland, settlements still exist of people that appear to be racially connected with them, if not exactly identical.

After these Moñ descended tribes came the Indū traders and colonists, and it was probably from that period that the tin mines, on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, and very likely also on Junk-ceylon Island, began to be worked. As regards the latter we have no positive proof, but it can hardly be doubted that the natural riches of the island could escape the notice of those shrewd miners who at so remote an age developed those of the neighbouring Takôpa district immediately to the north of it. By reason of its position on the old sea route to Further India that crossed the Bay of Bengal further to the north, and then skirted the West coast of the Malay Peninsula for its whole length down to the Straits, Junk-ceylon could certainly not escape becoming well known to the early navigators, at least by existence, if not by name. For indeed, no specific mention of it is to be found in the accounts of adventurous seafaring men and traders of those periods. These appear to have had only one designation for the region, including the island and the districts to the north of it as far as the Pāk Chan inlet, and that designation was Takola or Takkôla, suggested by the principal seaport and trade-mart in that region, of which the present Takôpa, in Siānese Takūa-pā, 𑜋𑜪𑜨 𑜏𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫, is the historical continuation. This country or seaport of Takkôla is referred to as early as the very dawn of the Christian Era in the famed Pāli treatise titled “Milinda Pañhā,” or “The Questions of King Milinda” (VI, 211). Towards the middle of the second century A. D. Ptolemy mentions not only Takola as a mart situated on the West Coast of the Golden Khersonese (Malay Peninsula) in a position approximately corresponding to Takôpa; but also a cape to the south-west of it, which I have elsewhere

shown to be the headland presently known as Cape Takôpa on the northern shore of Pāk P'hrah (Papra) Strait (separating Junkceylon Island from the mainland lying immediately to the north of it) which was apparently made, in the mind of the illustrious Alexandrine geographer, to comprise Junkceylon Island as well.¹ In such a case the Malay idea of Junkceylon as a Cape would find its counterpart, if not its origin, in some remote naval tradition as to the peninsular character of the island, which Ptolemy would have simply echoed in the mention of his Cape beyond Takola.² There seems to be no reason for doubt that this region and seaport of Takola correspond—as I have elsewhere suggested—to the *Kalah* Island (in reality Peninsula) of the early Arab navigators described about A. D. 880-916 by Abū-zaid as an emporium of trade for eagle-wood, ivory, sapanwood, al-kali (tin), etc., and classed by him among the possessions of the Zābej Empire. Ibn Khurdābih, writing in about 864 says, however, that it belonged to the *Jabah* of India, by which name he means, I think, Pegū. It seems therefore pretty certain that Junkceylon, although well known to the early navigators who often had to sail past its western and southern coasts, was considered by them practically as part and parcel of the Takôpa district, and accordingly they did not trouble about finding out what its special native designation was; or, even if they eventually learnt it, of putting it on record.

1. See my remarks on this subject in the *Journal R. Asiatic Society* for July 1897, pp. 572-573 and table IV, nos 79,80. Also in the same *Journal* for April, 1904, pp. 239,247.

2. Colonel Yule, in his map of Ancient India in Smith's well-known historical "Atlas of Ancient Geography," identified the Island of Salāng, *i. e.* Junkceylon, with the Island *Khaline*, or *Saline*, mentioned by Ptolemy. However, I place but little reliance on the variant *Saline* appearing in some editions of Ptolemy's work; and from some experience gained in the course of researches on the Ptolemaic geography of Indo China, I came to the conclusion that Junkceylon, from its lying quite close to the mainland, has been treated as part of the latter, as instanced in analogous cases in the work of that geographer; and that therefore *Khaline*, is almost undoubtedly the correct reading, and very probably designates Kar-Nikobar.

In this connection it may be of interest to point out that at a far later period Hakluyt, in his "Epistle Dedicatorie" prefaced to the voyage of Sir James Lancaster, terms Junkceylon "the *mainland of Juncalaon*."

Judging from the only ancient inscription that has so far turned up in the neighbouring Takôpa district, the main bulk of settlers from India in those parts must have been Dravidians, hailing from Kalinga and more southern districts on the East coast of India where Tamil was spoken. Although these adventurers formed the ruling and trading classes of the population, they do not seem to have founded any important State in this particular region which appears to have remained until the middle of the eleventh century, or thereabout under the sway of Pegu, a kingdom likewise founded by immigrants from Kalinga, that had grown very powerful under their civilizing influence. When that kingdom was overthrown by the Burmese from Pagān in 1050-1057 and converted into a dependency of theirs, it is possible that the ruler of Ligor (Nagara Śrī Dharmarāj) on the other side of the Malay Peninsula took advantage of that opportunity in order to annex Junkceylon and the neighbouring districts on the mainland, for—judging from extant records—Burmese domination on the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula did not at the period in question extend any further south than Tenasserim¹; whereas, on the other hand, Ligor is known to have then had sway over the whole southern portion of the Peninsula as far down as the Straits. This State was itself, however, a more or less nominal dependency of Kamboja, which had been for many

1. The story of the Pagān King Narapadisithu (Narapati-jayasūra)'s visit to Tavoy in 1204 is well known. At about the same period, a Pagān inscription informs us, he despatched a monk, Shin Araham, to the province of Tenasserim to procure a certain relic of the Buddha preserved there. Near the Shinkodaw pagoda about ten miles from Mergui an inscription has quite recently been found recording a gift to the pagoda by Nga Pon, the Royal Usurer of Tarok-pye-min, the king who reigned at Pagān from 1248 to 1285. I am indebted for information as regards this inscription to the kindness of Mr. Grant Brown, the present Deputy Commissioner for Tenasserim.

There can thus be no doubt as to Burmese possessions on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula having at this period included Tavoy and Tenasserim. But there is no evidence whatever that they extended any further south. With the rise of the Martaban kingdom under the protection of Sukhōthai in 1282, Tavoy and Tenasserim became tributary to Siam and continued as such for many centuries, although several times reduced to obedience by later kings of Martaban (in 1318, 1320-25, 1327); of Pegu; and, finally, of Burma.

centuries the suzerain power over all the Gulf of Siām and even the Straits, where its possessions were conterminous with those of the Palembang Empire.

In 1257 Siām threw off the secular Kambojan yoke, and went even to the length of invading Kamboja and dealing a death blow to that colossus then already tottering to its fall. All the possessions on the Malay Peninsula and the Straits were wrested from it, and became dependencies of the newly risen Thai empire that fixed its capital at Sukhōthai. Junkceylon Island, as part of the Ligor kingdom, followed the lot of this State, which continued to rule the Malay Peninsula as a tributary kingdom on behalf of Siām instead of Kamboja as heretofore. Of this novel status of Ligor we have positive evidence in the Sukhōthai inscription of 1283-1306 A. D.; which is the earliest extant epigraphic monument of the first Thai empire. After the overthrow of this by the second empire that had sprung up in 1350 with its capital at Ayuddhyā, all the former's possessions on the Malay Peninsula passed under the latter's domination; and thus we find in the Palatine Law called the Kot Monthīerabāl (Kata Mandirapāla) enacted in the course of the century immediately following, Ligor or Nagara Srī Dharmarāj classed as one of the eight tributary kingdoms of Ayuddhyā which were ruled by princes styled พระยามหานคร. Of these there were two more on the Malay Peninsula further to the north, viz. Tanāvaśrī or Tenasserim, and Thawāi (Davāi) *i. e.* Tavoy; whereas in the south four petty tributary Malay States are mentioned, viz:

1. อุยง ตะหนะ, Ūjong Tānah, the then name of Johor;
2. มลากา, Malākā, *i. e.* Malacca;
3. มลายู, Malāyū,—apparently the district on and about the Malāyū river, immediately adjoining Johor on the west;
4. วรารัฏฐ์, Worawārī (Varavārī), a district of difficult identification, but which may have been Mora-muār, *i. e.* Muār, below Malacca.

1. See Laws of Siām, vol. II, p. 92 of 5th ed., 1888.

Although these Malay States sent the usual gold and silver trees of tribute directly to Ayuddhyā, they were, like other ones not mentioned (such as *e. g.* Pérak and Kedah), under the tutelage of Ligor which continued in her rôle of policing the Malay Peninsula on behalf, at this period, of Ayuddhyā,¹ although not omitting like the States under her guardianship to rebel when opportunity offered and her suzerain relented his grip. But chastisement in such cases was not long to follow from headquarters and the unruly dependency was again made to feel the pressure of the iron hand and became the loser into the bargain; for whenever such soaring attempts on its part evidenced a dangerous exuberance of vitality, a wing-clipping cure was applied as a rule, by effect of which one or more valuable dependencies were severed from it and either attached to more loyal neighbouring principalities or placed under the direct control of the capital. Such was the case with Patāni, Kedah, and Ligor itself as we are going to see directly.

Besides the Malay States above referred to that were expected to periodically do homage and present the symbolical golden and silver trees directly to the suzerain at Ayuddhyā, there were other petty States purely Siānese further north on the Peninsula, which, though recognized as tributary, were required to perform such periodical demonstrations of allegiance through the medium of Ligor. Their status practically was, therefore, that of immediate dependencies of the Ligor kingdom. Such States were Singora, Phattalung and Phang-ngā, which had each to forward every year to Ligor two gold and two silver trees of one Tical weight of precious metal in each of them, besides a certain number of ornamented waxen tapers and a determined quantity of local produce. Every three years Ligor assembled together the tributary trees received during the period, which thus numbered 18 of gold and as many of silver, added to them its own (6 for each kind and year, or 18 of each kind for the three years), and forwarded the whole (36 golden and 36 silver trees) to Ayuddhyā, together with 1000 ornamented waxen tapers

1. Witness the punitive Siānese expedition of A. D. 1502 against the rebellious Malacca, which was, as Nieuhoff informs us, under the command of the governor of Ligor.

and the several sorts of local produce collected. This custom for Ligor of sending these various shares of tribute triennially, must evidently have replaced an older one of forwarding it every year. In the course of time this system having been found to work unsatisfactorily owing to the loss of time and delays involved, it was substituted by the other one of triennial homage. But for the tributary States under Ligor, the ceremony was to be performed at the capital of the latter kingdom every year—apparently in September on occasion of the rite of drinking the water of allegiance—when the chiefs of those States had to proceed to Ligor and there do homage while taking at the same time their oath of loyalty by drinking the traditional adjured water.

Of most of this we have unimpeachable evidence in the account of Mendez Pinto who, having had occasion to visit Ligor in 1539 or 1540, tells us, that “14 petty Kings” were then subject to it, owing homage to Siām, and “that they were anciently obliged to make their personal repair unto *Odina* [Ayuddhyā], the Capital City of this Empire, as well to bring their Tribute thither, as to do the *Sumbaya*¹ to their Emperor, which was indeed to kiss the Courtelas that he ware by his side²; Now because this City was seated 50 Leagues within the Land, and the Currents of the Rivers so strong, as these Kings were oftentimes forced to abide the whole winter there to their great charge, they petitioned the *Prechau*,³ King of Siam, that the place of doing this their homage might be altered; whereupon he was pleased to ordain, that for the future there should be a Vice-Roy resident in the Town of *Lugo* [Lugor, Ligor, Lakhon], which in their Language is called

1. From Malay *Sembah*, *Sembayang* = to worship, to pay homage; in Khmër *Sompea*, *Sompea Krab*; sometimes spelled *Somba*, *Sembay*, *Zombaye*, by later European writers. The explanation “a present; Malay *Sambah-an*” given in “Hobson-Jobson,” 2nd ed., p. 851, s. v. is therefore not quite correct.

2. This is an error; the feudatories were not required to kiss the King's courtelas, but as still nowadays, to drink water in which weapons forming the instruments of punishment for high treason are dipped while the adjuring formulas of the oath are recited.

3. ဖုဒ္ဓါရှင်, P'hrah Chāu, the Sacred Lord, i. e. His Majesty; something like “Holy Tzar.”

Poyho,¹ unto whom every three years those 14 Kings should render that duty and obedience they were accustomed to do unto himself, and that during that time they spent there in performing the same, being the whole month of *September*, both their own Merchandize and that of all others, as well natives as strangers, that either came in, or went out of the Country, should be free from all manner of imposts whatsoever.”² Thus we clearly see from the account of this eye-witness, that in or about 1540, the chiefs of the tributary States and provincial governors under Ligor, proceeded thereto to the number of 14 in the month of September of each year, to do homage and drink the water of allegiance. This ceremony has to be held, according to time-honoured custom, twice a year, viz. nowadays on the 3rd waxing of the 5th moon (about the end of March) and on the 13th waning of the 10th moon (September); but formerly it took place on the 15th waning of the 4th moon or on the 1st waxing of the 5th, and on the 15th waning of the 10th moon or on the 1st waxing of the 11th respectively. The shifting of these dates as above was effected on account of the national festivals and rejoicings that form an inseparable feature of the end of the 4th and 10th lunar months and the beginning of the 5th and 11th which mark the commencement of the new year and of the new half-year respectively, of which the drinking water ceremony occupied too large a share of the best time available for merry-making, thus proving somewhat of a gloomy damper on the general mirthfulness.

Among the tributary States mentioned above as being at the period under the immediate control of Ligor, the one in which we are chiefly interested here is that of P’hang-ngā, རྩམ་གྲ་, for it then included Takūa-pā (Takôpa), besides C’halāng and P’hūket, the two districts into which Junkceylon Island was already apportioned. P’hang-ngā thus was a rather important State, whose

1. May-be P’hyā, རྩམ་གྲ་, although the Ligor Viceroy’s rank was that of a Chāu-P’hyā.

2. “The Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto,” transl. by Cogan; London, 1692, p. 43.

chiefs are known to have been at times of as high a rank as Chāu P'hyā, owing to the fact that it being situated near the western frontier of Siām, it became necessary to place it under an official of high station and ability so as to efficiently provide for its defence against eventual attacks from the Peguan side or raids from the Malay pirates that infested the sea of the Archipelago.

In the course of time however, Ligor having become too powerful and therefore unruly, had its wings duly clipped in the shape of the severance from it of the three States of Singora, P'hattalung and P'hang-ngā which were placed under the immediate dependence of the capital to which they henceforth came directly to pay homage and present their tribute. Accordingly, the share of Ligor's contribution was reduced to six gold and six silver trees a year, the others being supplied independently of her by the States aforementioned. On the other hand, not long afterwards C'halāng, P'hūket and Takūa-pā were detached from P'hang-ngā, as a result of which this latter State became so insignificant that it was relieved from the burden of sending the golden and silver trees of tribute which was thereupon shouldered on Takūa-pā. The tribute trees in question continued to be forwarded to the capital of Siām once a year from C'halāng, P'hūket and P'hang-ngā (and later on in the latter's stead by Takūa-pā); and once every three years by Ligor, until a few years ago when the new administrative reform of provincial government was introduced.

It is not difficult to guess the reasons why C'halāng, P'hūket and Takūa-pā were so early detached from P'hang-ngā. The advent of European nations in the East Indies as traders, colonists and empire makers that followed after Vasco da Gama's memorable navigation, led to a revival of the interoceanic trade that had come almost to a standstill since the time of the Arabs despite the laudable efforts of the mediaeval Italian Republics on the one side, and of the Chinese on the other to keep it alive and to stimulate the development of the natural resources in India, Indo-China, and the Malay Archipelago. The feat accomplished by the Portuguese through the discovery of a sea route to India, however, overtopped by its result all these achievements, as well as the far older ones in the same direction of the Greeks and, I should add, of the

Phoenicians, for these were beyond doubt the pioneer Western traders to India not only, but also to Further India.

Thus the impetus given to trade at the latter period was enormous, was unexampled; for soon every maritime European nation of some standing followed in the footsteps of the Portuguese and set about to strenuously dispute with them a share in the East Indian bounty. This rush had reached its climax by the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the one next following; and among the countries that immediately resented the beneficial effects of the novel vigorous impetus impressed to interoceanic trade was not least Siam, on account not only of her varied productions, but above all of her being in possession of the only tin yielding territories then known in the East.¹

These territories, as we are all aware, were those of Takūa-pā. of Junkceylon Island, and Pêrak the mines of which latter, however, were not developed to their full extent until long afterwards.² Under such circumstances Junkceylon especially, being beyond doubt the richest of all in tin ore, assumed all of a sudden an unprecedented importance among Siamese possessions on the Malay Peninsula. And its mines, as well as those in

1. The famous Bangka mines were not discovered until A. D. 1710.

2. The tin mines in Ligor, Singora, P'hattalung and C'humph'on do not appear, judging from what Tavernier says, to have been discovered and opened until about 1640 A. D. See my paper in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* for October 1904, p. 720. At this period tin was also mined in the Sri-Sawat ศรีสะเกษ province to the south-west of Nakhon Swan, for we learn from the Ayuddhyā annals (vol. I, pp. 297-98) that an albino elephant having been caught there in January 1659, King Nārāi exempted the people who had assisted in securing the precious quarry, from royalty on tin-mining in that district.

As regards the Malay Peninsula, in 1516 Barbosa mentions a dependency of Siam there under the name of *Caranguor*, in which tin abounded and whence it was brought to the city of Malacca to be shipped to foreign countries (Ramusio's "*Navigazioni et Viaggi*," vol. I; Venetia, 1563, f. 317 *verso*). It is not easy to say which is the district meant under this designation of *Caranguor* which may be a mistake for *Caranguor*. It may be a question of either Selangor, Kalang, or C'halāng (Junkceylon) Island; if not of Sangora or Singora and even Trang (the *Tarangue* of d'Albuquerque's Commentaries).

the Takūa-pā district received a far larger share of attention than heretofore, the export of tin being made at once a royal monopoly. Thus, the necessity of direct control from headquarters of the administration of the two mining centres was felt, and Takūa-pā, C'halāng and P'hūket were forthwith detached from under P'hang-ngā and placed under the immediate dependence of the central government at the capital of Siam.

Article 37 of the Law on Criminal Procedure, enacted apparently in A. D. 1623,¹ enjoins on all frontier posts and custom stations to prevent foreigners from surreptitiously buying agilla wood, sapanwood and tin, thus evidencing that these articles of produce had then already been made the object of royal monopoly. Licenses were, however, granted later on to Europeans to trade in tin not only at Junkceylon but in various districts on the Malay Peninsula. Among those recorded is the one dated the 6th November, 1675 in favour of the Hon. East India Company to buy that produce in C'hump'hon, C'haiyā, P'hun-p'hin (now Fān Dōn) and Thā-thong (now Kānchanadit), where mines had but recently been opened.² As to Junkceylon we are told that in 1677 a misunderstanding had arisen between the English authorities at Surat and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Ayuddhyā regarding some tin that had been lost at Junkceylon.³ From several European accounts of the period which will duly be quoted in the next section of this paper, we learn that the working of the tin mines on that island was now in full swing, and the necessity of fully developing them led to the appointment of Europeans to govern Junkceylon. Two Frenchmen, as we shall see in due course, held that post between 1683 and 1689.

1. ถังชน อาญาหลวง, Laws, 5th ed., 1888, vol. II, p. 199. The date is set forth as 1976, year of the Hog (= A. D. 1431), which is unmistakably a clerical slip, as the king then reigning bore a different title from the one given at the outset of this law, and no English and Dutch as mentioned in the article in question were as yet in sight in Siam. I propose therefore the correction B. E. 2166 = A. D. 1623, though it may yet have to be modified.

2. See my paper in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, for October 1904, p. 722.

3. Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 137.

The necessity of coping with the situation created by the growth of foreign trade had led to the southern provinces of Siām being placed under the department for Foreign Affairs instead of under that of War as heretofore ; and Junkceylon was, as a matter of course, of the number. This important administrative step was taken, according to Siāinese records, under the reign of King Nārāi (A. D. 1658-1688). That such was already the case in 1681-5 we positively learn from Gervaise,¹ who adds however that the provinces on the East coast of the Gulf of Siām had by that ruler been placed under the Ok-yā Wang² in order to make this post more considerable. But it is not improbable that the measure referred to dates from an earlier period.

Such a state of things continued until 1782 when upon the advent of the dynasty presently reigning over Siām, Takūa-pā, Takūa thung, P'hang-ngā, C'halāng (the jurisdiction of which then extended over the whole of Junkceylon Island), and the other provinces on the Malay Peninsula were withdrawn from the control of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and placed under that of the Ministry for War (Kalāhôm Department) as had originally been the case in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It is unnecessary to pursue the present inquiry to a more recent period, since both Siāinese and European records are plentiful enough as to permit of reconstructing the history of Junkceylon Island for the last two centuries. Such documents will serially be dealt

1. " Histoire du Royaume de Siam ; Paris, 1688, p. 79. " Le-second Ministre d'Estat est appelé *Praclang* [P'hrah Khlang, พระคลัง] ou plus communément *Barcalon*.....Comme il a l'Intendance generale de toutes les Côtes Maritimes depuis Piply [P'hejburī], jusqu'à Tennasserim, c'est à luy à veiller sur le Commerce, et à mettre en bon estat tous les Magazins du Roy." Then he refers to the ability displayed in holding that post by the late brother of the first Ambassador of Siām to France in 1685-87. The distinguished Minister referred to is Chāu P'hrayā Kosā (Lek), who died in 1683 after having held the post for fifteen years and acted also as Chakkri, or Minister for the Northern division of the kingdom, since 1630 or thereabout (op. cit., p. 80).

2. စတုဂ္ဂ ပာ ဂ်, R. Palace Warden, of which the Ministry of the Royal Household is the present historical continuation. The occupant of this post bore formerly *ex officio* the title of Ok-yā Tharamāthibodī (Dharmādhīpati), with Ministerial rank.

PART II.

SERIAL NOTICES OF THE ISLAND.

1.—Older period : A. D. 1200 to 1782.

CIRCA 1200.

The earliest reference to Junkceylon known to me in Eastern literature, occurs in the Kedah Annals translated by Captain (afterwards Colonel) Low in the third volume of the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*. We are told therein that Marong Mahāvamsa, the founder of Kedah, in the course of his journey thereto from India, sailed along the coast of Pegu reaching in due course Tavāi (Tavoy), Marit (Mergui) and Salāng (Junkceylon)¹ in the sea called Tāppān; and having cast anchor abreast of Salāng Island asked permission from the chief to take in wood and water, after which refreshments he continued his voyage. From various considerations which it would take too much space to refer to here, I have recently come to the conclusion that the foundation of Kedah, and therefore the sea journey mentioned in the above extract, took place on or shortly after A. D. 1200.² Our inferences as to Junkceylon being frequented from a very ancient period by trading ships on their route to and from India, receive thereby confirmation.

1512—GALVANO.

The earliest European mention of Junkceylon that I am aware of occurs in Galvano's valuable work written in about 1557;

1. It is interesting to notice that the island is here termed Salāng and *not* Ujong Salāng, thereby evidencing that the second form of the name is of later growth. I have no access to the Malay text of the Kedah Annals and am therefore unable to verify the passage. But if, as seems certain, the text has simply Salāng, this would at once dispose of Mr. Skeat's wild flights of imagination on *jong*, and 'heavily tossing' junks, etc., referred to above (p. 2).

2. See my paper in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* for July 1905, pp. 495-499.

but dates back to about 1512 when, we are told, Albuquerque sent a second mission to Siām (the first one had been despatched in 1511), putting in charge of it a knight called Ruy Nunes da Cunha. This envoy went “unto the citie of Pera and on this side of *Iunsalam*, and to many other populations standing along this coast, where Duarte Fernandes had been before [in 1511].”¹

1539—MENDEZ PINTO.

Soon after comes Mendez Pinto, who severally refers to Junkceylon as follows (the no. of page is that of Cogan’s translation, London, 1692).

1539—“passing by the Port of *Junculan*” (for Junçalan), p. 22.

1545—*Juncalan* (p. 189); *Juncalan*, one of the seaports where trade fell on account of Portuguese scorings along the coast (p. 189); “Coast of *Juncalan*” (p. 207);

1548—“a place called Tilau [Pāk Lāu, or Trang?], which is besides *Juncalan*, on the South East Coast, neer to the Kingdom of *Quedea* [Kedah], an hundred and forty leagues from *Malaca*” (p. 280); *Juncalo* (p. 285).

1588—RALPH FITCH.

On the 10th January, 1580, the famous traveller Ralph Fitch sailed from Pegu for Malacca, passing en route the Islands of “*Tanaseri*, *Iunsalaon*, and many others.”²

1583-1592—LINSCHOTEN.

Speaking of Pêrak, Linschoten says: “...there is found much *calaem* [tin], which is like tinne, there commeth likewise of the same from *Gunsalan*, a place lying upon the same coast North north west, from Queda 30. miles, under 8 degrés and a halfë.”³ Despite these

1. “...à cidade de Perú, & aqué da Iunsalão, & outras muytas pouoações q’jazem ao longo desta ribeira, por onde já Duarte Fernandez viera.” (Galvano’s “Discoveries of the World,” Hakl. Soc. 1862, p. 114). I had to somewhat modify the wording in the English version quoted above, as the translator, curiously enough, took *ribeira* to simply mean a river, whereas in the present instance it has the sense of coast, just like the Italian *riviera*.

2. J. H. Ryley’s “Ralph Fitch”; London, 1899, p. 178.

3. “Voyage of van Linschoten”; Hakl. Soc., 1885; vol. I, p. 104.

precise enough indications the recent editors of the English translation quoted here have, strange to say, failed to recognize *Junçalan*, i. e. Junkceylon under the not very opaque travesty of *Gunsalan*; that is, anyhow, the only inference that can be drawn in view of the fact that they have kept a prudent silence on this toponym in their footnotes, and even omitted it from the Index.

OCTOBER 1592—BARKER.

We now come to what I believe to be the first European account of a visit to the island, which is due to the pen of Edmund Barker, lieutenant in Sir James Lancaster's fleet. This very interesting narrative is, to the following effect.

“And doubting the forces of Malacca, we departed thence to a baie, in the kingdome of *Junsalaom*, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu, eight degrees to the northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier [a Portuguese], which the captaine of the aforesaid galion had left behind him with us, because he had the Malaian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured vs some two or three quintals with promise of more, and certaine of the people came unto vs. We sent commodities to their king to barter for ambergriese, and for the hornes of *abath* [=rhinoceros], whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this *abath* is a beast which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female unicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soueraigne remedie against poyson. We had onely two or three of these hornes, which are the colour of a browne grey, and some reasonable quantitie of amber-griese. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall with our marchandise; but he to get aboard vs, told him that we had gilt armour, shirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire; for hope whereof he let him returne aboard, and so he escaped the danger. Thus we left this coast...,” etc.¹

Although not unfortunately saying anything about tin works

1. “The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies”; Hakl. Soc., 1877, pp. 14–15.

on the island, this account supplies us with several interesting details that make it invaluable, and indeed unique for the sixteenth century. It will have been noticed that Junkceylon is here termed a kingdom, and its ruler a king (corresponding to the Malay *rāja*, applied to any petty chief or princelet). This confirms what we have stated in our introductory section as regards the status of the island at the period in question, which was that of a tributary State to Siām placed, however, under the immediate control of Ligor. The bay where the fleet anchored is, no doubt, that of Thā-Rūa which we shall see later, was much frequented by shipping. The pitch for trimming the ships referred to is, of course, Damar, in Siāinese น้ำ นันยาง, from the *Dipterocarpus* or oil tree. The mention of ambergris among the chief exports of the island is important; and we shall find it confirmed nearly a century later. It would be interesting to learn whether such a valuable product is still collected in such considerable quantities about the shores of the island. Such does not seem to be the case nowadays, although spermaceti whales are said to be even at present numerous enough in the surrounding sea. On the whole it will be seen that with its tin, rhinoceros horns, ambergris, resins, wood-oil, and so forth to barter with outlandish commodities; and with its well sheltered bays the island must have offered sufficient inducements to foreign shipping which, no doubt, resorted thereto in considerable numbers.

1598—HAKLUYT.

We have already had occasion to notice that Hakluyt, in his “Epistle Dedicatorie,” calls the island “the mainland of *Junçalaon*,” which argues that in his time its insular character was by no means generally known to Western navigators.

1606—BOCARRO.

Antonio Bocarro, in his “Decada 13 da Historia da India” (Lisboa, 1876) has the following passing references to the island:

1606—Junçalao, a seaport (p. 135).

1615—Ponta de Junçalao (p. 430) by which I suppose he means the southern point of the island. This seems to support

the view that the Malay designation Ujong-Salāng really applied to the southern end of the island only.

1639—MANDELSLO.

Mandelslo speaks of *Juncalaon* town which he wrongly includes in the Kingdom of Malacca, by which he means the Malay Peninsula.¹

1662-63—DE BOURGES.

De Bourges enumerates *Iansalom* among the 11 provinces of the Kingdom of Siām.²

1671—CATHOLIC MISSION.

In or soon after 1671 a Catholic branch mission was started from the Siāmesse capital on the island by the Bishop de Bérýthe who sent there a Portuguese priest by the name of Perez. It seems that Portuguese settlers were pretty numerous there at this period, and the mission soon prospered. But owing to want of labourers at headquarters M. Perez had to be recalled in 1673 to Ayuddhyā where in the month of May of that year he greeted the Bishop of Heliopolis on his arrival from Europe.³

1677.

In 1677, as already noticed on a preceding page (17) a misunderstanding had arisen between the English authorities at Surat and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Ayuddhyā regarding some tin that had been lost at Junkceylon.

1681—85. GERVAISE.

Gervaise, who resided in Siām from 1681 to 1685 attached to the Catholic mission at Ayuddhyā, sets forth the advantages of the port of *Jonsalam* which, he says,⁴ is situated to the west of the

1. "Voyages de Perse aux Indes Orientales par le Sr. Jean-Albert de Mandelslo"; Amsterdam, 1727, p. 334.

2. "Relation du Voyage de Mgr. l'Evêque de Beryte, par M. de Bourges"; 2nd ed., Paris 1668, pp. 141-42.

3. "History of the Churches," etc., in the *China Review*, vol. XVIII, p. 10. Pallegoix' "Description du Royaume de Siam," Paris, 1854, vol. II, p. 143; Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 235.

4. "Histoire Naturelle et Politique du Royaume de Siam"; Paris, 1688.

Malay Peninsula in about 8° lat., between the mainland and an island that bears its name and lies only two leagues off. The only defect of this seaport is, that it is not deep enough for large vessels; but a large fine roadstead near it can successfully do duty as harbour. It is a place of refuge for all vessels proceeding to the Coromandel coast when surprised by storms, which usually occur during the months of July and August; and is of great importance for the trade of Bengal, Pegu, and other neighbouring kingdoms (pp. 14-15). Evidently, the port here meant is that of Thū Rūn. Further on he states that the Dutch have often set their eyes upon the Island of *Jonsulam*, because there are to be found some small quantities of gold and ambergris, and plenty of *calin* (tin)¹; but the King (of Siām,) has entrusted the government of the island to a Frenchman (Charbonneau, see below) who finds himself well there and has no mind to permit them to enter it (p. 32.)

1685—CHOISY.

The gossiping Abbé de Choisy tells us in his "Journal"² that *Joncelang*, a seaport on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula, abounds in *calain* (tin) and ambergris.

1685—CHAUMONT.

Chaumont simply mentions *Josalam* among the 11 provinces of Siām in a list seemingly copied from De Bourges (p. 160); and adds that tin was shipped by the King's junks for China, the Coromandel coast, and Surat (pp. 150, 155).³

THE FRANCO-SIAMESE TRADING-CONVENTION OF 1685.— TIN MONOPOLY AT JUNKCEYLON GRANTED TO FRANCE.

However, the two French envoys, Chaumont and Choisy, knew a good deal more about the island than they give us to understand in their books, where all their political doings in connection

1. The alleged Dutch designs upon Junkceylon and Tenasserim are already set forth in the letter of Deslandes (the chief agent in Siām of the Compagnie des Indes) to Baron, dated December 26th, 1682.—See Lanier's "Étude Historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam"; Versailles, 1883; p. 30.

2. Paris, 1741; p. 397.

3. "Relation de l'Ambassade de M. le Chevalier de Chaumont," etc.; 3rd ed., Paris 1687.

certainly the desire of the Siāmesse Court to prevent it falling into their hands. Furthermore, it was entirely against his inclination and only when signified that "the King of Siam absolutely requir'd it,"—we learn from *La Loubère* (p. 91)¹—that Charbonneau proceeded to build a wooden fort on the Pegu frontier. It must have been as a result of his having honourably acquitted himself in the fulfilment of this task, that he was chosen for the governorship of Junkceylon Island which he cannot very willingly have held, since he resigned the office after three or four years and preferred to return to his family circle in Ayuddhyā. The appointment of another Frenchman to succeed him, far from having being inspired by the Vicars-Apostolic, was evidently but a natural consequence of the Franco-Siāmesse trading convention signed in the course of Chaumont's mission in 1685. This is shown by the very fact of the Master of Chaumont's household being designated to fill the post.

1689—THE FRENCH NAVAL DEMONSTRATION AT JUNKCEYLON.

As a result of the revolution that took place in Siām in the spring of 1688, Desfarges, the French officer in command of the citadel of Bāngkok, had to evacuate the place with his troops on the 2nd November of the same year and embark for Pondichery which he reached on January 31st 1689. There had arrived some two weeks before that the débris of the French detachment that garrisoned Mergui. A council being held of the military and civil authorities present at the place, it was resolved, among other things, to occupy Junkceylon Island, so as to be able to easily come to terms with the new power that swayed over Siām. Desfarges still held, contrary to what should have been, three distinguished Siāmesse officials as hostages, and it was hoped that through their means negotiations could be reopened and some satisfactory arrangement easily come to. Five ships being placed at his disposal by the Pondichery authorities, he sailed for Junkceylon in February, with his officers and 330 soldiers.

Immediately upon coming at anchor in Thā-rūa harbour, Desfarges set about to renew the connection that had been broken

1. A phrase misconstrued by Anderson (*op. cit.*, p. 241) as applying to Charbonneau's appointment to Junkceylon.

with Siām. So he wrote to the P'hrāh Khlang announcing his return, that he had brought the hostages with him, that all he wanted was peace, and all he claimed was that the Frenchmen held captive in Siām should be returned to him, as well as his baggage that had been detained behind when he left the mouth of the Bāng-kōk river. This message was sent overland to the Siāinese capital and reached it towards the end of August 1689, according to Pallegoix. The Bishop of Metellopolis, the only one of the hostages left there by Desfarges who had not broken his faith and fled, did his best to persuade the Siāinese officialdom not to allow such a fine opportunity of reconciliation to pass away. But his arguments were of no avail: the Siāinese refused to consider the matter, and strict orders were sent to the local authorities at Junkceylon not to supply either victuals, water, or provisions of whatever sort to the French there and to lay hands on such of them as attempted to land.

Surprised at meeting with so much stubbornness, Desfarges tried his hand once more at peace-making on somewhat different lines. On the 27th August he sent out one of the Siāinese hostages with two letters for the P'hrāh Khlang. In one, coming from his pen, he solicited the dispatching of envoys, accompanied by the Bishop of Metellopolis, to Junkceylon in order to conclude a treaty. The other letter, signed by Véret, the unscrupulous and mischievous *quondam* chief of the French factory at Ayuddhyā, treated of commercial affairs, and demanded from the King of Siām the cession of Junkceylon Island to the Compagnie des Indes. "*L'effronterie de Véret ne se démentait pas,*" observes Lanier at this juncture.

After long deliberation the Siāinese Court replied that the Christian captives would not be delivered until Desfarges released the last two hostages he held. The French commander gave way at last. The season was far advanced, so after freeing one of the hostages he sailed for Bengal with three ships. Twelve days after, M. de Vertesale, the second in command, left Junkceylon in his turn with the rest, after having released the last Siāinese official detained as security and sent along with him the two interpreters Ferreux and Pinchero who were to make in due course known to the Siāinese Court the rectitude of intents with which the French expedition had

proceeded to Junkceylon. The whole party ultimately reached Siām on the 5th December 1689, with the welcome announcement that the French vessels had withdrawn from Junkceylon bound to Bengal.¹ Thus ended this barren attempt at re-establishing cordial relations with Siām. Lanier speaks of it as an occupation of Junkceylon, but arguing from what precedes there appears to have been no actual occupation whatever of the island. The French fleet seems to have merely lain at anchor in the harbour, and if the orders received from headquarters were strictly carried out by the local authorities, its men can have had but little chance of setting their foot on shore. Mr. Billi, the French governor appointed in 1685, was apparently no more in charge. If occupation there was, it must have been of some islet in or about the harbour. It is interesting to notice in this connection, that one of such came to be known to navigators as *French Island* (see below, under the date 1779), owing presumably to its having been temporarily held or availed of by the crews of that fleet. The expedition was therefore, to all intents and purposes, a mere peaceful naval demonstration, as harmless and useless as may be imagined. It may indeed be said to have utterly ruined the French cause at the Siāinese capital, for the news of Desfarges' arrival at Junkceylon led there to a recrudescence of ill-feeling and to reprisals against the missionaries and their converts.²

1700-1719—HAMILTON.

Not long after the above events Junkceylon was visited between 1700 and 1719 by Captain Alexander Hamilton in the course of his various trips along the West coast of the Malay Peninsula. Needless to say that this well informed writer whose "New Account of the East Indies"³ offers—according to Professor

1. Cf. Lanier, op. cit., pp. 172-174; Pallegoix, vol. II., pp. 188, 190; and Anderson, op. cit., p. 383. The last-named author makes one of his most glaring blunders in confounding this expedition, which took place in 1689, with the cruise of Admiral Duquesne-Guitton's squadron in the Gulf of Bengal which took place in 1690 and had nothing to do with Junkceylon or, for that matter, with any part of the Malay Peninsula.

2. Cf. Lanier, op. cit., p. 175.

3. In 2 vols 8vo: 1st ed., Edinburgh, 1727; 2nd ed., London, 1744.

and I have seen several at *Bangaria* [Bang Khli, ๒๐๘ ๑๐๕]¹ a village near *Junkceylon*, as white as him." (p. 470).

It will thus be seen that the reaction consequent on the Siamese revolution of 1688, which stifled the great progress that had been made during the preceding thirty years in the development of the country and its trading relations with abroad, had lethal effects on *Junkceylon* as well. With no more armed vessels or garrisons to defend the coast this was incessantly exposed to the incursions of the Malay pirates, while the former European governors of the island had been replaced by unscrupulous Chinamen who have ever since proved, while holding official posts, the real bane of the island. So the oppressed people had no alternative but to idle away their time, and tin mines lay almost untouched. Interesting is Hamilton's mention of Patong Bay (he is, to my belief, the first writer that has referred to it), which must have been known to navigators as a place of refuge during the north-east monsoon long before his time. On the whole his account, especially from a seaman's point of view, is a very correct one, and closes the available series of European sidelights on the island for the period during which the Siamese capital stood at *Ayuddhyā*.

1779—DR. KOENIG.

The next learned traveller to visit *Junkceylon* was Dr. Koenig, a prominent Danish botanist and pupil of Linnaeus who held from 1768 several appointments as medical attendant and naturalist in India. At the end of 1778 he started on a scientific expedition to Siam where P'hya Tāk had set up as king; and on his way back to India in 1779 he stayed for several months at *Junkceylon*, of which in his usual enthusiastic spirit he studied the fauna and flora, extending his researches to several of the neighbouring smaller islands. The voluminous account of his travels, written in Danish and preserved in MS. in the British Museum collections, lay quite ignored to the public until the portions of it relating to Siam and the Malay Peninsula were well advisedly translated into English

1. This is the *Bangery* of the map of Siam accompanying La Loubère's work (1690), and lies on a bay on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula a short distance to the north of Pak-P'hrah Strait.

and published in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.¹

His chief interest lying in investigations concerning natural history, he has, as a matter of course, designedly neglected other points of more general interest. Nevertheless, his narrative contains many valuable items of information on the geography and political events of the countries he visited; whereas in his special field he was certainly the first savant to make a scientific study of the flora and fauna of Siām, and perhaps the only one who ever investigated those of Junkceylon.² The account of his researches in this and adjacent islands alone occupies altogether no less than 30 pages of print, hence it can only be here summarized, leaving out matters that would merely interest specialists. The very bad handwriting of the MS. has proved no small source of difficulty to the translator, especially in the making out of proper names, which moreover seem to have been taken down only in a somewhat slovenly manner so as to still further intensify their puzzling character. Hence but conjectural identifications could at times be offered here. Such of them as will be found accompanied by a query should be further examined by those well acquainted with the local topography, as they are still open to correction.

1st visit.—On the 19th March, 1779, Dr. Kœnig arrived in the neighbourhood of Junkceylon in the ship “Bristol” commanded by Captain Francis Light, the well known founder of Penang in after years.—“We passed a very pleasant-looking island, *Pullu Pausang* [Pulo Panjang, in Siam. Koh Yāu-yai, เกาะยาวใหญ่], and straight before us in a narrow strait we saw many differently shaped rocks, projecting from the sea, the biggest among them had the most

1. No. 26 (Jan. 1894) pp. 59–201; and No. 27 (October 1894) pp. 57–133.

2. In the third volume of “*Études Diverses*” of the Mission Pavie (Paris, 1904) his name and his work are totally ignored, and in the preface Henry Mouhot is represented as having been the first naturalist to visit the interior of Indo-China. Long before him, however, Dr. Koenig had been botanizing in the environs of Ayuddhyā and Chanthabūn, besides exploring the interior of Junkceylon. He is thus incontestably the pioneer, and deserves not only to be remembered in connection with botanical and zoological discovery in Indo-China, but his place and merits should duly be recognized in works purporting to deal with this subject in an impartial spirit.

peculiar shape. The anchor was cast at three o'clock in the afternoon between the islands of *Pullu Salang* [Pulo Alang, Siām. เกาะอดัง], which consist of two islands, one smaller than the other.

"24.—Early I went to the tin smelting place and botanized; at four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the first hamlet, which is called *Ringlay* [Rông Lüei, ร่องเลืย=Saw Shed], and is the largest of them all; an hour after we came to *Kockren* [Koh?].¹ I saw the manner of smelting in the evening.

"25.—I went to the mine which lies about a quarter of a mile from *Kockren*. The way passes through a dense forest. From there I went further to a place the tin of which was exhausted.

"26.—Went back across the mountains, and arrived at twelve o'clock in *Tarmah* [Thā-Rüa, ท่าเรือ, then capital of the P'huket district].

"28.—I went to the island *Pullu Sallang Minor* [Koh Alang Nôi], with the boat, the crew of which was to cut and fetch wood for the ship. I found many remarkable things. At five o'clock the ship went under sail." (Op. cit., No. 26, pp. 197-198).

Being caught in a heavy storm when near the Nikobars, which so wildly belaboured the old ship as to make it unsafe to proceed, they were forced to turn back towards Junkceylon which they reached on April 30th.

1. This is a most puzzling toponym, the initial word of which is evidently Koh. เกาะ, meaning an island; though Khök. โคก, a patch of rising ground, is not impossible, however unsupported by circumstantial evidence. Further on our author distinctly speaks of it as an island — "the island of *Cockren*" — thus leading one to connect it with the islet of Koh Klüei. เกาะกลุ่ย, lying close by the north-eastern corner of the Lām Yā-mū peninsula. However, as a tin mine is stated by him to have existed at a quarter of a mile from *Kockren*, the foregoing inference loses much of its value, and one would incline to look for the locality in question either to the south-east or to the north-west of Thā-Rüa village, where tin has been and is still worked. In the last named direction exists a hamlet bearing the name of Bān Bāng Koh, บ้านบางเกาะ, "Island Creek Village;" but this can hardly be Dr. Koenig's *Cockren* or *Cockren*. So the final identification of this place-name must be left to local investigators.

2nd visit.—“ 30.—We arrived between the islands [i. e. the three islands northward from Lēm Ngā, แห่ตม งา, and southward from the Alangs] and cast anchor towards midday near a small island [Koh Mali, เกาะ มะลิ]. There we found two English ships, that of Captain James Scott and that of Captain Theserten [Peters, or Petersen]” (p. 201). This stray hint evidences how frequented by shipping was the island at this period.

“ May 1.—In the afternoon I went to an island called *Kopran* [Koh Map'hrāu เกาะ มะพร้าว, which name—like most long words in the local parlance—is usually contracted into Koh Ph'rāu], which was at 1000 steps' distance [westward] from the ship...I turned my attention first to a prominent mountain peak. It consisted of clayey very fine stone, which varied much in colour; most of it was grey, some was green, black or pink. It did not form any big blocks, but strong ferruginous veins divided it into many irregular parts. This kind of stone is used by the Siamese to write their books with, which books consist of black cardboard. They cut the stone into small sticks, one inch in length¹ and half as thick as a quill.....” (Op. cit., No. 27, p. 57).

“ 3.—“ At midday I went again to this island...First of all I visited the huts of some Malays and learned from them that they boil the large *Holothuria* [beche-de-mer] first in salt water; after that they are put on a stand, which is made of split bamboo, is half a man high, two yards broad and six feet long. They kindle a bright fire underneath this stand, which has the effect of both drying and smoking the *Holothuria* ” (pp. 58-59).

“ 6.—I went to an island which lay one mile northward from our ship.² My researches were soon interrupted by the arrival of

1. A clerical error has widently crept in here. These steatite slate pencils, called Din-so Hín, ดิน สอ หิน, in Siānese, are about 6 inches in length. Those made from soft yellow chalk are termed ดิน สอ เหลือง.

2. The island here alluded to is Koh Khob, เกาะ ขอบ. The position of the ship thereby becomes fixed at $\frac{3}{4}$ mile eastward from Koh Map'hrāu, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile westward from Koh Mali, and 1 mile southward from Koh Khob.

seven or eight Malay *praus*, whose neighbourhood is always dangerous for all Europeans.....After 8 o'clock the anchor was weighed to go to *Tamah* [Thā-Rüa Harbour], where we had been a month ago.

“7.—We travelled between the islands of *Pullu Penjang* [Panjang] and the *Ichlands* [Alangs], as far as the French island,¹ but the ship did not advance.....; therefore the anchor was cast...”

“8.—We tried again to get near the land,.....and at four o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at *Tamah* [Thā Rüa Harbour]. (p. 60).

“22.—I took the road, leading to *Cockreu* [? Koh...], which was very muddy and often intersected by rivulets.....In a very dark wood, often traversed by the rhinoceros, I found on their dung a special kind of *Bolctus stipitatus*. The roots consisted of a bulb...

“23.—I went again to the place in the wood which is often flooded by the sea.....” (p. 62).

“24.—A tiger visited our house, but was satisfied with only one goose for this time, which he carried away with him to his hiding place, which was about 200 yards from our house in a dense opening wood at the back of the house.....”

“27, 28.—I continued to collect insects. Towards evening I met a wild elephant, from which I had to escape. The bishop of these parts² told me that the leaves of *Sussa Radja* [Malay *Bakung Suasa*=*Susum anthelminticum*?].....are used as vesicatories.....” (pp. 62-63).

“30.—We went to our ship, which lay in the harbour, but we had much trouble to reach it, on account of the many trees floating in the water, cast there by recent storms.....

1. See above, p. 30. This now appears to be Koh P'hēh, เกาะพะงะ, to the north of the Alangs.

2. The author doubtless means the Buddhist head-priest of the place. There was at least one Buddhist monastery, วัดท้ายน้ำ พัง by the river bank at Thā-Rüa, as will be seen further on.

“ 31.—I went to the larger *Pullu Salang* [Alang], which is only separated from the smaller island by a narrow passage, it is twice as large as the smaller one, and lies parallel with the land, stretching from North-East to South-West.....After low tide we returned to our ship, which lay three miles from this island.....

“ June 1-2—I had an opportunity to send some intelligence of my present condition to my friends on the coast of Bengal, as Captain Peters returned thither.....

“ 3.—Captain Peters took all my letters. His ship took tin from our captain and left the harbour in the afternoon to sail for its destination.....

“ 4.—I went to *Pullu Jambu* [Lēm Yāmū, แห่ตมขำมู],¹ an island, which might rather be called a land-point because only a swamp, which is only flooded at high tide, separates it from the island Junkceylon. It has the same direction as the two *Salangs* [Alangs] and on entering the harbour it lies on the right-hand side. It consists of two middling high but narrow mountains, which are separated by a valley. The front part of this island is closely covered with high trees; there seems to be one place in the valley which is not overgrown with trees, and also a hill, which lies in front of the mountain furthest inland, and seems not to produce any trees, but is covered with a kind of light green grass, which gives a very pleasant view in the distance. Unfortunately, however, this grass grows to almost a man's height and consists of a kind of sugarcane.... The bamboo and the sugarcane make this island a favourite resort for elephants, therefore as soon as one comes into the jungle, one finds many paths made by the elephants, and that these paths originate from them is shown by their dung, which one finds everywhere. I was told that there were specially white elephants with their young ones living here, the latter however were of the ordinary colour; but I should not like to pledge myself for the truth of this assertion. ... (pp. 64-66).

“ 12.—At breakfast I was treated to some rhinoceros hide. ... The rhinoceros are said to visit this island from time to time. ... (pp. 68-69).

1. Incorrectly marked in charts as *Lem Jam*.

"16...among other corals, there are many fleshy corals on these shores...In the evening I was fetched out one and a half mile, to the ship of Captain Welsh, which had just arrived from the coast of Sumatra...(pp. 70-71.)

"19...the splendid cone of the *Amonim* showed to perfection. It has a carmine red colour, and is often eaten by the Siamese, who call it *Kalch* [*Khā ... ?*] ¹...The Siamese told me that the elephants too are very fond of this cone...(p. 73.)

"In the afternoon I sent my boy and some of the Siamese to fetch me some beetles of which they had spoken. They said that this beetle builds its nest one foot deep in the ground, by preference in such places where the wild elephants have left their dung. In the evening they came back with fifteen beetles of a very large kind, which resemble the *Scarabaea acten* [?] : The Siamese wash these insects, fry them, and eat them with great appetite; they assured me that they had an excellent taste, which opinion my captain confirmed, who had himself eaten them, prepared in some other manner. I am convinced that they contain many particles of fat.....The Siamese call these insects *Fhu-si*, vel *Tzuh-tzhi* ².....(p. 75).

1. If an *Amomum* (misread *Amonim*), i. e. a zinziberacea, it may be either *Khā*, ข่า, (*Alpinia galangas*); *P'hlai*, พลไ; *Proh*, พรอ, often pron. *Ploh* (*Kaempferia galangas*); *Reu*, เรอ (*Amomum villosum*), or similar. Perhaps *Khā-ling* ข่าลิง, a wild variety of *Alpinia*.

2. The kind of insect here referred to would at first sight hardly seem to be aught else than the *Tua Bīng*, ตัวบึ้ง, which nests in holes underground and is eaten roasted in the fire, its eggs being also relished. If so, Dr. Koenig might have written down its name in the form of *Tuh-byng*. There is, however, a serious difficulty confronting us here. The *Tua Bīng* is *Melopæus albostratus*, the largest variety of mygale found in Indo-China; and it is known that mygales are eaten boiled or stewed in Siām, Lāos and Kamboja; while their eggs are considered a delicacy. But the insect referred to by Dr. Koenig is described as a beetle and must evidently belong to the family of Scarabeidae; for it is impossible to conceive that a naturalist of his standing would speak of a mygale as such. Among beetles I only know of the *Brachinus exquiritus* of the carabidae family being eaten fried; but this, called แมงกิ้งกิ้ง, is scarcely more than one inch long. Hence only further research can lead to the identification of the edible insect alluded to.

“21.—Early in the morning I made preparations to go to *Tarnah* [Thā Rūa] in the afternoon, and then I went for a short time to *Pullu Jambu* [Yā-mū].....I found another tree resembling the rotan, with a fascicle of fruits, the spadices of which were bright red. The fruits were oval, oblong, smooth, sessile and fleshy inside; they were of a beautiful blood-red colour, and were twice as big as the ordinary sized quills. The fleshy part encloses the kernel with a layer of prickly stiff fibres, which were rather loose at the top part. The kernel consisted of an oblong nut, which was exactly like a nut when cut, and contained some red juice, which dyes the linen red when brought in contact with it.....The tree is well known by the natives here who call it *Gkolttschok* [โกลตซอ, Kōt So?],¹ and use these nuts sometimes instead of the ordinary Betel nuts.....I went round the island and found a kind of large tree, which was frequented by several *Buceros*.....The Siamese call this bird *Nock Nang* [read Nok Kahāng or Krahāng, นก กระพวง, or กระพวง, the large hornbill, *Buceros rhinoceros*, of which Nok Hāng is the local contracted form of the name]; it only lives on fruits and seldom flies low. The remarkable thing in this bird is that it makes a peculiar noise with its wings as it flies along. ...” (pp. 78-79).

“26.—The atmosphere on land was rather unsafe for Europeans during the last days, on account of some quarrels between some English captains and the king; I was therefore called back to the ship. Before I left the land I botanized a little..... A Chinese merchant, living at *Tarnah* [Tha Rūa], told me that tin was also being found on the height of the mountains, because the violent rain washes the earth away and so uncovers the tin and sometimes even washes this down as well. The old women collect it, and bring it to the smelter, who renders them $\frac{4}{5}$ of what they have brought him, because the prevailing custom here is to give the smelter $\frac{1}{5}$ of whatever he smelts, which is the only payment for his trouble. All the tin in *Pullu Panjang* had formerly been collected in this manner, and was not dug for as they do here, and there was

1. The presence on the island of the medicinal plant called Kōt So will be found confirmed further on from Siānese sources; but it is somewhat doubtful whether it can be the tree referred to here, as from its designation the plant would appear to be a mere tuber.

enough tin there to furnish many people with an occupation. But Malay ships had often killed and robbed this people, so that in the end they had fled. On the whole Malay coast people are said to collect the tin in this primitive way and not to dig for it as they do here ".....(p. 80).

" [July] 5.—I spent this day in Captain Light's company, and we could dare to penetrate deeper into the wood, because we had many people with us who were armed with guns....We went right across the island, which was covered with a dense forest, consisting of many very high trees; the ground was strewn over with their fruits and we gathered some of them....." (p. 81).

" 12.—...I asked Captain Light to let me have a boat and a few men; we rowed to a part of the island which did not make it necessary for me to climb.....I went a few hundred steps up the mountain and found to my great astonishment two kinds of Areca trees....There was a whole wood of them here, white ones as well as the red kind....." (p. 83).

" 13.—I was seized with a violent bilious fever, combined with cold shivers and general weakness.....[which] threatened to kill me. Therefore I resolved to go with Captain Scott's three-masted ship, which was bound for Malacca, my Captain readily made all arrangements for my passage, as he feared to have a corpse on his ship, while Captain Scott could easily make funeral arrangements at sea; and late in the evening of the 17th I went on board of Captain Scott's ship, called "Prince." We sailed still the very evening." (pp. 84-85).—

Thus ended Dr. Kœnig's fruitful visit to Junkceylon. He got thence safely to Malacca, next to Kedah, visiting many other places *en route*, and ultimately got back to India where he died on June 26, 1785, at Jagrenatporoum, aged 57 years. Although he tells us but little of the social condition of Junkceylon, his occasional remarks on the harbour, the neighbouring islands, and especially the tin mining operations going on there in his time are exceedingly interesting. We gather from these that the island continued to be exposed to the incursions of Malay pirates who had been the cause of the discontinuance of tin works on Pulo Panjang, i. e. Koḥ Yāu-yāi. We moreover see that the islanders still enjoyed the privilege of mining

for tin wherever they chose, had to pay $\frac{1}{5}$ for the cost of smelting, and probably $\frac{1}{4}$ of the net produce as royalty to the chief of the district who had to forward a certain portion to the provincial authority at P'hang-ngā or Takūa-pā, to be thence sent to the Siānese capital by the route that shall be described in due course. The smelting of the ore was seemingly done by Chinamen who were already numerous in the island and carried on a certain portion of its import and export trade. But tin was also exported on European ships, which fact argues that the monopoly in force at the period when the Siānese capital was still at Ayuddhyā had not been re-established during the reign of P'hyā Tak, or was maintained but in a slovenly manner. Dr. Koenig does not tell us anything about ambergris, probably because he had not visited the West coast of the island where that substance is likely to have been chiefly collected. *Per contra*, he records the presence in considerable numbers of rhinoceroses, tigers, elephants, and even albino elephants on the island. Most of these wild animals have probably become far more scarce since that time. As to whether slate pencils are still wrought at Koh Map'hrāu I am unable to say. It is a pity our author did not tell us something more of Thā-Rūa which, as we shall see from other accounts, was at the time a town of considerable importance. But on the whole we must be thankful for whatever else he put on record, which has a special interest as being the only sidelight we get on the island since Hamilton's time, and but a few years after the fall of Ayuddhyā (1767) and the translation of the capital of Siām to Bāngkok (1768).

EXTRACTS FROM LOCAL RECORDS UP TO 1782.

I shall now make some extracts from a document written by local officials in 1841 in so far as they bear on the period immediately preceding the year 1782, so as to complete our notices on the history of the island up to that date. The rare document in question is reproduced and translated in full in Appendix A; so here I need only touch upon the principal points relating to the period under examination.

C'halāng.—During the last years of the capital Ayuddhyā there were two chiefs in the C'halāng district, born of the same father but of different mothers. One of them bore the name of Chom Rāng, resided at Bān Takhien and was the governor of Thalāng; he wedded

a Malay widow who had fled to the island from Kedah, and had by her 2 sons and 3 daughters, two of the latter of whom achieved afterwards great distinction, as will appear in the sequel, while the elder son became governor of Thalāng later on. The other chief was Chom Thāu,¹ who resided at Bān Don; one of his sons became also some time afterwards governor of Thalāng. Perfect harmony reigned between the two families at Bān Takhien and Bān Don. But this state of tranquility in the island was soon to come to an end.

For some time afterwards Chom C'hai Surindr of the Lip'hon village (บ้าน ลีพน) rebelled with the intent of seizing the power. An order came from the capital to arrest him, and he was caught and executed for high treason. There being then no able man left in the island, an official from the capital, Khāng-seng by name was sent out as Governor. At the eldest son of Chom Rāng, succeeded him as P'hrayā Thalāng, but shortly afterwards he was shot dead by dacoits, and Thalāng remained without governor.

Thereupon a Malay from Kedah made himself master of the island. But soon the people of Thalāng revolted, erected fortified camps at Mai Khāu, Pāk Sāgū, and Tang-ro (?)² and drove the Malays out, thus liberating the island. This event seems to have happened either shortly before or shortly after 1780, and was no doubt the cause of the erroneous statement, repeated in all European accounts of Junkceylon from Horsburgh's time to the present day, to the effect that the island was formerly a possession of Kedah and did

1. These titles of *Chom*, ชอม, given to the C'halāng chiefs at the period are worthy of notice. *Chom* means 'top', 'summit'; and metaphorically a chief, or chieftain. It is also remarkable that in the document here referred to, the name of the district or island is invariably spelled ถาลาง, Thalāng, and not ฉาลาง, C'halāng.

2. Bān Mai Khāu, บ้านไม้ขาว, village lies on the north-western end of the island; Pāk Sākhū, ปากสาธุ (Sago Mouth) lies close to the north-west of Bān Don; and Bān Lip'hon village is immediately to the north-west of old Thā-rüa town, on the road thence to Bān Don. *Tang-ro* is doubtful as a place-name; it may mean "to make a stand."

not become Siānese until 1810 or thereabout!¹ The evidence we have brought forward in the foregoing pages shows how much truth there is in such a slovenly assertion, and how much knowledge about the political history of Kedah in those writers who ignore its having been, since a few decades from its foundation, a dependency of Siām except during brief intervals of rebellion invariably followed by a re-tightening of the grip on it from headquarters.

Meanwhile Mom Srī P'hakdī, son of Chom Nāi Kong, a Ligor man who had come out as governor of Takūa-thùng, had wedded Chan, the eldest daughter of Chom Rāng, the old chief of C'halāng; and had had by her two children. The aforementioned Mom Srī P'hakdī died some time before 1785; for towards the end of that year Chan, the heroine of the island, is, in the Bāngkok Annals, described as being a widow of the late governor, which statement argues that Mom Srī P'hakdī must have governed C'halāng for some interval before that date. And here we must interrupt the history of C'halāng district for the present and pass on to the other one on the southern part of the island.

P'hūket.—P'hūket was formerly an important district, but later it was placed under the jurisdiction of C'halāng. Its governors were at first Líang P'hūket (Khāng-Khot), and then Nāi Srī-c'hāi overseer who became P'hral (or P'hrayā) P'hūket. They resided at Thā-Rūia, a little country town of considerable importance then, situated one and a half miles up a small stream of the same name. There was a large Portuguese settlement here, as well as a fine market street, composed of large brick buildings, among which rose the spacious houses belonging to the Europeans that used to reside here while their ships lay at anchor in the harbour. The boundaries between P'hūket and C'halāng stood as follows:—

On the West, Hin C'hāi, P'hlāi Tanôt;

1. Balfour's "Cyclopaedia of India," 3rd ed., s. v. "Junk Seylon, or Salang Island," says quoting from Horsburgh: "It formerly belonged to the Malay raja of Queda, but it has since been forcibly occupied by the Siamese of Ligor."

This has been copied, almost *verbatim*, by Prof. Keane in his "Geography of the Malay Peninsula," etc.; London 1892, p. 15.

And H. W. Smyth in his "Five Years in Siam," London, 1898; vol. I, p. 316, still tells us no less incorrectly that "about 1810 it finally became Siamese."

On the East, Koh Map'hrāu, Au Tap-kē, Lēm Ngā, Lēm Mat-p'hā; while the following islands were included in the jurisdiction of P'hūket, viz: Koh Yāu (Pulo Panjang and Koh Yāu Noi to the northward of it), Koh Alang (the two Alangs), Koh Klūei, Lēm Yāmū (Jam of maps, a quasi peninsula), Koh Rēt and Nākhā, Koh Rawah, Koh Pā-yōi, Koh C'ha-ngam, Au P'hārāmā, Koh Yā-nat, Koh Khulā-khlot. The boundary continued thence to Lēm Kho-en, Pāk Ko-yik and Lēm Pāk-P'hrayā from which point it crossed over to Pāk-nam Mon and Pāk P'hrah, where the strait separated it from the territory of the Takūa-thùng district.

Our document next adds some important information about Takūa-thùng, which is worth summarizing here.

Takūa-thùng.—During the last years of the capital Ayuddhyā, Chāu P'hrayā Indravamsā selected a site at Pāk-P'hrah whither to build a residence for himself. He had scarcely cleared the site and commenced the work when he was overtaken by death. P'hyā Tāk had then just become King of Siām (1768); so he sent out several high officials of Chāu P'hrayā and P'hyā rank as commissioners. These established their quarters at Pāk P'hrah; and were, among others C'hāu P'hrayā Lū Rājanikūl, P'hrayā Dharmatrailōk, and P'hrayā P'hip'hīt P'hōkhai, who either died or fled as it will be seen further on, at the time of the Burmese invasion of 1786.¹

The channel of Pāk P'hrah (คลอง ปาก พระ) formed the line of separation between Takūa-thùng and C'halāng.

The Junkceylon Revenue.—The royalties in kind on mines and other produce, as well as on sundry imports collected in C'halāng were forwarded to Takūa-thùng whence they were sent on to Takūa-pā. From the last named district the tin ore, the bales of [Indian] fabrics and the firearms [from India] were conveyed across the main range by way of the Kháu Sok pass² down to Thā P'hanom on the eastern watershed, where they were laden into boats and brought by way of the P'hanom river (Khlōng P'hanom) to C'haiyā. Here they were shipped to the capital. Such,

1. These and former commissioners evidently were sent out for the purpose of watching the collection of the revenue—chiefly tin—from Junkceylon and the Takūa-thùng and Takūa-pā districts; and the forwarding of it overland to the capital by the route that is described further on.

2. The name of this mountain is playfully marked *Mt. Rock* (!) on the extant maps.

we are told, had been the custom for a very long time, and until the Burmese invasion of 1786, when the above operations came to a standstill not to be resumed for a good many years, and then, too, by a different, though more practicable, route.

2.—Second Period: 1782-1851.

As already noticed in the first part of this paper, with the advent of the present dynasty on the throne of Siām in 1782, an important administrative change took place, by effect of which Junkceylon and all the other provinces on the Malay Peninsula were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Foreign Department and placed as of yore under the control of the Kalāhôm or Minister for War, under which they were to remain until the recent reorganization of 1893. (See above, p. 18).

The far more enlightened spirit that has ever since distinguished the newly founded dynasty, proved highly beneficial not only to the country, but to the foreigners that had made it their residence. Owing to the severe persecutions of P'hyā Tāk, the Catholic missionaries had had bodily to withdraw from Siām towards the end of 1779. But now that ideas of tolerance of all creeds prevailed, they returned to their posts within the year 1782. Joseph Coudé, however, resided for some time at Junkceylon where he found a number of soi-disants Christians that welcomed him with joy. I suppose these were mostly the Portuguese mestizos and other Eurasians of the Thā-Rua settlement with, perhaps, a sprinkling of descendants of the natives evangelized during the mission of 1671-73 (see p. 24 above). They had been receiving but some desultory teaching from the chaplains of Portuguese vessels and some Franciscans that had now and then visited the island.

Later on Coudé, upon being appointed Bishop of Rhesi and Apostolic Vicar for Siām resolved, while proceeding to Bāngkok in order to receive thereat his consecration, to again visit his cherished Christians of Junkceylon and Takūa-thùng. Accordingly, he took a track across the Malay Peninsula that was to shorten his journey by some eight or ten days (doubtless viā the Kháu Sok pass). But this being a very unhealthy and difficult road, the

Bishop fell seriously ill and died while en route on the 8th January 1785.¹

CAPTAIN FORREST'S VISIT—1784.

Having been sent in 1784, by the Bengal government, to found a settlement at Rhio at the king's invitation, Captain James Forrest upon hearing when touching at Pulo Dingding that the king Rāja Hāji had just fallen at the siege of Malacca which he had attacked—an untoward incident this that upset all his plans—returned and called at Junkceylon. To this circumstance we owe his capital account of that island, which, falling a few years after Dr. Koenig's but under the new régime of the presently reigning dynasty, and immediately before the island had been lain waste by repeated Burmese raids, possesses a special interest from a historical point of view. This interest is further enhanced by the valuable details it supplies not only on local topography, natural resources and trade, but also by the sidelights it throws on administrative affairs and the very life of the people. A miniature picture is thus presented to us of the island at a most eventful stage of its existence; and the precision of the information is such as to enable us to check and even complement to a certain extent several of the imperfect statements occurring in local documentary records. As a cute observer, an explorer and a faithful recorder of his peregrinations, Captain Forrest must be ranked immediately after Captain Alexander Hamilton, his eminent predecessor in the same field; and his varied subsidiary accomplishments that ranged from map-making to translating Pope's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer into Malay for the benefit and edification of the Filipinos, and from suggesting novel ingenious modes of preserving sea provision² to fiddling, to composing Malay songs and setting them to the sonatas of Corelli, eminently fitted him for that task. And yet his valuable book³ is

1. Pallegoix, op. cit.; vol. II, pp. 274-75, 278. *China Review*, vol. XVIII, p. 12.

2. As regards fish-curing (p. 137) he may be said to have preconized pyroligneous acid.

3. "A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago.....also an Account of the Islands Jan Sylan," etc.; London, 1792; large in 4o.

scarcely any more, if ever, consulted. Had those playful writers on Junkceylon in recent bulky tomes of would-be sensational twaddle, and in encyclopaedias of general information or otherwise, taken the trouble of opening its pages, they would have spared a goodly few of the glaring blunders they have unblushingly perpetrated. And after having read Captain Forrest's account of Junkceylon one feels regret that this careful observer had not an opportunity of visiting some of the districts on the opposite mainland, as in such a case we should be indebted to him for valuable information on those so little known territories also. His account of the island occupies eight pages (29-36) in the publication just referred to; and as this has now become somewhat scarce and is conspicuously absent in libraries private or otherwise out here, we cannot help giving it well nigh in full, omitting only such passages as are irrelevant for our purpose, or obvious to residents from their bearing on too well known matters not peculiar to the island alone, but to practically the whole of Siām. Henceforth, then, we shall leave Captain Forrest to speak out for himself, adding within brackets or in foot-notes our identifications of proper names, or comments, as the case may be.

1. Position of the Island, etc.—“The Island Jan Sylan (called *Junk Ceylon* in our maps) is situated on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, and is divided from the continent by a narrow isthmus of sand about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, which isthmus is covered only at high water (the tide rising on the springs about 10 feet), and shuts up on the north part, an excellent harbour, called *Popra* * [Pāk P'hrah, ปากพระ]¹

1. This harbour our author marks in his “ Chart from Jan Sylan to Queda ” (facing p. 36 in *op. cit.*) on the mainland opposite the northern end of Junkceylon, within a promontory which is evidently that of Pāk P'hrah (Lēm Pāk P'hrah). The anchorage was frequented by European shipping since the writer tells us (p. 31) that Captain Scott's vessel lay then at anchor in it. It is ignored in the present day directories and sailing directions; but an index to its importance is to be found in the fact that as we have seen above (p. 44) the Siāmesse commissioners in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had made Pāk Phrah their residence.

As regards the narrow isthmus of sand, covered at high water, connecting the island with the main across Pāk P'hrah Strait, we find it marked in Captain Forrest's chart at the western entrance to the Strait

2. Name.—“The name *Jan Sylan* is a corruption from *Ojong Sylan* (point or promontory of Sylan), the south point projecting a little way into the sea, and probably the name was given to it before it became an island at high water, and before it was disjoined from the continent, as it is at present: the word *oojong* being a Malay word signifying point, and the inhabitants in general speaking Malay, from their intercourse with that people, had it been considered as an island, the word *pulo*, signifying island in the same tongue, a word of easy pronunciation, if once affixed to it, would most probably never have left it.¹

3. Neighbouring Islands.—There are several small islands adjacent to it, from one to six miles in circumference; and one beautiful island lies about sixteen miles east of it, called *Pulo Panjang* (*Long Island*): it is about 23 miles long, and 8 broad, of moderate height, gently sloping from the middle to the sea on each side. *Pulo Panjang* is divided from the main by a strait called *Callat Leheere* (*Throat Strait*),² with 2 fathoms water in the shallowest part.³

4. Orography and Hydrography.—“*Jan Sylan* has no high hill upon it, but several of moderate height; and, as may be expected from its size, no considerable river; but several creeks that run to

just referred to. This bar exists to this day, but the depth on it at low water is said in the “*Bengal Pilot*” (3rd ed., 1901, p. 431) to vary “from one to 3 fathoms at low water.” Nevertheless Mr. Kynnersley in his account of the island in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R. Asiatic Society* for July 1901 states (p. 64) that it is “fordable by elephants at low tide.” This may be true at certain seasons of the year; but if Captain Forrest’s remark that the bar was covered only at high water be correct, it must be argued that it has deepened since his time, and this in spite of the well ascertained fact that land keeps on rising continually in those parts.

1. We have already commented upon this passage and other evidence connected with the point it discusses, on pp. 2-7 and 9, 20, 23-24 above.

2. A mis-spelling (or misprint) for *Selat Leher* = ‘Neck [or ‘Throat] Strait.’

3. This channel, leading between the islets *Koh Kluei* and *Koh Khamam*, northward of the minor *Panjang* (*Koh Yau Noi*) is used to this day, it being the ordinary passage to *P’hang-ngā*; but no name is marked for it in our charts or naval directories.

the sea, generally through flat marshes of mangrove trees, from pleasant brooks in the interior parts; they keeping purposely the skirts of the island in a state of nature, I suppose, to prevent invasion; and their vessels consist only of few prows [*prau*, *prahu*] about the size of Indiamen's long-boats, and small canoes, that find their way up these creeks, to the well-cultivated plains abounding with rice fields in the middle of the island.

5. **Harbours**—"Besides the harbour of *Popra* [Pāk P'hrah] above-mentioned, there is another capacious harbour on the south-west part of the island, as the natives informed me¹; but I never was in it. The place where ships generally anchor is in a good road, well sheltered behind a small island now joined to the main island at low water, lying in 8° 10' N. lat.²

6. **Tha Rua**—On the *main* opposite to this island is a creek that leads to the village of *Terowa* [Thā Rūa], consisting of about 80 houses, on a plain, through which runs a pleasant brook, with many windings, over a gravelly bottom.

"After having with much difficulty got up this narrow creek, where oars cannot be used, on the upper part, paddles only, and perhaps against a strong current, one is much pleased to reach the pleasant rivulet above-mentioned; and here resides *Pee-peemont* [P'hyā P'himon, พระยา พิมล], the governor, or viceroy, from the court of *Siam*.³ This governor, when I was there in 1784, had three

1. Evidently Patong Bay; see p. 31 above.

2. This small island cannot seemingly be Lēm Yā-mū at the northern end of the harbour (see p. 37 above); but is presumably the tiny islet a little northward of the entrance to Thā Rūa river. It is now almost within a stone-throw of the shore, from which it becomes separated only at high water. Evidently, the land has progressed seawards a good deal since Captain Forrest's time, if our deductions are correct - and it seems that it cannot be otherwise.

3. Our author further refers to this official in the Introduction to his book, p. III, as follows: "Pee-peemont governor of Jan Sylan in 1784...for the King of Siam, and formerly governor of Kraw, when the country about Kraw was well inhabited, and the road across the isthmus much frequented, before the wars which, thirty years ago, between the Peguers and Birmahs or Burmahs, had greatly depopulated this quarter." This information is correct and agrees with that supplied us by local records. P'hyā P'himon or Eimol (Vimala) was governor of Krah, and had lately resided at C'humph'on on the east coast of the Peninsula until he was appointed to Junkceylon. The latter event happened presumably in 1782, immediately after the advent of the

assistants, or perhaps rather colleagues, as they partook of his power: their names were *Pee-Tukerat* [P'hyā Dukkharās, พระยา ทุกขราษฏ์], *Pee-Siring* [P'hyā Surindr-rājā, พระยา สุรินทร ราช],¹ and *Pee-Lancrac* [P'hyā Laṅkāraḥ พระยา ดังการักษ ?].² Each of these officers had about sixty followers, a kind of retainers, who in a great measure live on the community; for, receiving little pay, they oppress the inhabitants: their arms are a musquet and bayonet, sword and dagger. I have often seen them attending their masters at *Pee-peemont's* house, where they all met frequently upon business.

7. Towns and villages—"The names of the towns or villages upon the island, are:

Terowa [Thā-Rūa],

Bankian [Bān Takhien, บ้าน ตะเคียน see above, pp. 41, 42],

Bandan [Bān Don, บ้าน ดอน, see above, p. 42],

Popra [Pāk P'hrah.] where is the harbour already mentioned,

Nanay [Nā Nai, บ้าน นาไย, S. E. from Thā Rūa town; another village of the same name lies a short distance northwards from Bān Don and Bān Takhien],

Bandpon [Bān Li-p'hon, N. W. from same; see above, p. 42],

presently reigning dynasty when, as may be expected, a good deal of transference in official posts took place. Apparently, P'hyā P'himon was first sent to Junkceylon as government commissioner or acting governor. We shall hear a good deal more about him in the sequel.

1. This was a very able official born in the west provinces, very likely at P'hang-ngā or Takūa-thùng. He became afterwards Chāu P'hyā, and devoted himself to the improvement of means of communication across the Malay Peninsula, as will be seen further on.

2. I can find no record about both P'hyā Thukkarāt (Dukkharās) and this *Pee-Lancrac*, which last title, by the way, is not easy of identification. It may be Laṅkāraḥ, Alaṅkāraḥ, Aṅgarakḥ, or even Anurakḥ.

- Tyang* [Thā-Yāng, ท้ายาง, a little southwards from Bān Don ?],
- Tirtulay* [C'hāi Thalē, บ้านทรายทะเล, S. of Bān Don, towards the West coast ?],
- Bankonian* [Bān Khôk-yāng, บ้านโคกยาง, N. E. from Thā-Rüa, East coast ?],
- Banktan* [Bāng Kathau, บางกะเทา, West coast on Bāng Thau Bay ?],
- Bandrun* [Bān Karon, บ้านกะรน, West coast, on Karon Bay ?; or, mayhap, Bāng-Khron, บ้านบางครอง, on the homonymous river, East coast],
- Sapoo* [Bān Sākhū, บ้านสาคร, on the West coast, N. W. from Thā-Rüa],
- Bringing* [Bān Ra-ngeng, บ้านระแงง, a little westwards from the present P'hūket ?] (this last produces tin); also
- Kakoing* [evidently the same place as Dr. Koenig's puzzling *Kockren* ; see above, p. 34],¹
- Patrit* [P'hak-c'het, บ้านผักเค็ด N. E. from Thā-Rüa, East coast ?],

1. Even with the two forms *Kakoing* and *Kockren* (which last is doubtless the most correct of the *variae lectiones* occurring in Dr. Koenig's account) now lying before us, it is yet impossible to say which is the mining place intended. A village Thā-Khrēng บ้านท่าแครง, exists at a short distance S. W. from the present P'hūket and about half-way to actual tin-works, but the initial syllable of its name does by no means answer the requirements, which are, as already observed, a word something like Koh or Khôk. There is no other course left for the present but giving up its identity.

Tallong [not seemingly C'halong on the homonymous bay but, almost certainly, Thalāng],¹ and

Patong [Patong, မုံတုံ see above, p. 31] (these four last also produce tin).

The inhabitants of the whole island may be in number about 12,000 souls.²

8. Excursion inland.—“About eight miles inland, from *Terowa*, in a N. W. direction nearly, *Pee-peemont* has a country house, built, as all their houses are, of timber, and covered with palm leaves, an universal covering in Malay countries.³

1. Mr. Kynnersley states in his “Notes of Visits to Puket,” etc. in the *Journal Str. Br. R. A. S.* for January 1905 (No. 42, p. 12) that *Phalung*—evidently a misprint for Thalāng and the same place as Capt. Forrest’s *Tallong*—“was the great mining place before Tongkah [Thùng-khā, တုံကာ] mines were worked at the end of the promontory or island which we call Junk-Ceylon.” He, however, displays a but shallowish knowledge of Malay when, after having declared his unbelief in the “*Ujung Salang* derivation” adds that “there is no doubt that Junk-Ceylon is a corruption of *Yong* (Tanjong) *Phalung* [Thalāng] or *Salung* [Salāng].” For it is well-known that *Tanjong* is a mere contraction of *Tānah Ūjong*, which carries one back to the very derivation he disbelieves. It will be evident from the last quoted passage, however, that Thalāng or Salāng (C’halāng) is exactly what he means by his *Phalung*. Hence, there can be no doubt as to the identity of both with Capt. Forrest’s *Tallong*.

2. This I think an underestimate, which is more likely than not, as our author had no opportunity of visiting more than a few inhabited places on the island. In 1824 Captain Low, as we shall see, reckoned the population at 6000 souls; but this was shortly after no less than four Burmese raids had taken place. A seemingly accurate census taken in 1897 yielded the following results: Villages 201, under the immediate authority of 20 *Kammans*. Population:

Siāmesese	{ Males, 8948 Females, 6240 }	15188
Chinese,	mostly mining coolies,	11350

Total ... 26538

Allowing for quite possible shortcomings, we must conclude that the total population of the island prior to the Burmese invasions, must have been no less than 15000 to 20000 souls.

3. This country residence must have been in the Thalāng district proper, at or about Bān Don, which lies in the direction indicated at five miles, as the crow flies, from Thā Rūa; and therefore at seven to eight miles’ distance following the windings of the track. The description given of the route also corresponds.

"I travelled thither with Capt. James Scot,¹ who resided then at *Terowa*, on some commercial business, his vessel² lying in *Popra* harbour, a very sensible and intelligent gentleman, to whom I was much obliged for his civilities and services on many occasions. We travelled on an elephant, through a path worn like a gutter, in some few places, where it was over a flat rock, the path being worn by the elephant's feet, and so narrow as not to be above an inch or two wider than his hoofs: I wondered how the huge animal got along. This bad road was for a very little way through the skirt of a wood; and about two miles from *Terowa* we got into the open country again, full of rice fields and well watered, yet not swampy. In about three hours we reached the governor's house, which is larger and more commodious than the one at *Terowa*, and seven miles distant from it. In his garden we found limes, oranges and pummel noses. *Chysong*, the son of a Chinese with whom I lived, told me the island produced most tropical roots and fruits; and I am persuaded many of our vegetables might be raised, the climate is so cool; very like what it is at *Pulo Pinang*.

"The governor gave us a very good dinner, but did not eat with us. He did not speak Malay, but had a linguist who spoke Portuguese. Our drink was the water of young coco-nuts and sherbet. After dinner we were entertained with three musicians, who played on such like string instruments as the Chinese play on at Canton. Having drank tea we took leave.

9. Fauna and Climate.—"They have a good many elephants, which they get from Mergui; none wild, no horses; they have bullocks and buffalos for labour; wild hogs and deer, a few tame goats, no sheep, domestic dogs and cats. They have the common poultry, but not in abundance. The climate is very agreeable; no violent heats; the rains come on gently in July, and continue

1. Here we meet with an old acquaintance, first introduced to us by Dr. Koenig five years before this (1779; see pp. 35, 40 above). Captain Scott resided at Thā-Rāa for a good many years. It was he who assisted his colleague Capt. Francis Light in persuading the rāja of Kedah to conclude in 1785 the famous treaty by which Penang island was ceded to the British.

2. A three-masted ship called "*Prince*," as Dr. Koenig informed us (see p. 40 above).

until November, with frequent intermissions: fine weather then succeeds, with very cool north-east winds at night, which must be favourable to the cultivation of vegetables, as it is at Calcutta.

10. **Opium trade; Imports and Exports.**—"The vend for opium on this island was thirty or forty years ago very great, as this was then a free port. The opium came from *Bengal* generally in English country ships, and was bought up by Malay and Buggess [Būgis] prows, who, after having sold a mixt cargo by retail, to the natives for tin (in doing which they staid many months, and hauled up their prows to repair), they then exchanged their tin with the Bengal vessels for opium, which they carried chiefly to *Celebes* and other Malay Islands. The mixed cargo they brought to sell for tin was generally a chequered cloth called *Buggess cambays*, made on the *Island Celebes*, resembling *lungys* [lungī, practically the Siānese P'hā-nūng, ^২পা'নু'ঙ] of *Bengal*, but closer wove; Java painted cloths and painted handkerchiefs, generally made from Indostan long cloth; Java gongs, brass pots, and other utensils of brass made on that island; China and Java tobacco; various porcelain; blue and white and unbleached cloth called *kangan*, and white and blue called *compow*, brought from China by the junks that resort to *Siam*, *Macasser*, *Sooloo*, *Batavia*, *Rhio*, and other places.

"Things are now much altered: the use of opium is forbid to the natives, the importation is prohibited, and a heavy duty is laid on the exportation of tin by orders from *Siam*; in consequence, the trade of the place has dwindled much; Indostan piece-goods, and some European articles, such as iron, steel, lead, cutlery, and broad-cloth, being almost the only imports. Neither do many Buggess prows come, as no opium is to be got; but Malay prows come from *Queda*, and a few from the *Strait of Malacca* and *Pulo Pinang*, that bring the China articles already enumerated. About the year 1782, in return for many China articles they got from *Siam* partly overland, they returned tin, the same way; but the project was given up in 1784, it not answering the expense to send tin across the isthmus.¹

1. Further particulars about the overland route, etc. will be found—gathered from local sources—in the sequel. See also above, p. 44.

11. Tin Mining.—“The tin miner lies under greater oppression of late years than formerly: he must now carry all his ore to a Chinese smelter, who farms this privilege from government. The smelting costs 12 *per cent.*¹; besides, the miner for a certain weight in slabs, must deliver a certain weight of tin ore, which often produces more: thus he pays a double duty before he gets the tin into his hands; the last duty is the heaviest and most impolitic. Government takes 25 *per cent.* before the tin can be exported: this gives so much dissatisfaction, that they wish much to throw off their dependance on *Siam*; and it was said that, if *Pee-pimont* could get support, he would very readily do it.² How far his having three associates in government might prevent such an attempt, I cannot say: possibly their appointment is with that very intention, by the despots of *Siam*; who, armed with an insignificant monarch’s authority, often govern themselves, but always in his name.

“I have been told the export of tin from the island is about 500 tons yearly; formerly it was much more.³ *Pulo Pinang*, our new settlement, gets a great deal of it; *Queda* did formerly.

12. The Tha-rua pagoda. —“Here, at *Terowa*, there is a *pagoda*, built of timber, and covered with palm leaves; it is served by about twenty priests, called *tellopys* [Tala-Kh’pôî,⁴] who live in small

1. Dr. Koenig said $\frac{1}{2}$ (see p. 39 above), corresponding to 20 p $\%$, a still higher rate. Probably it had been reduced since his time when, however, the monopoly of smelting appears to already have been farmed out to Chinamen.

2. We shall see that he became more loyal to his sovereign in after years.

3. This is a statement of far-reaching importance, showing how considerable was the output of the Junkceylon mines prior to the end of the seventeenth century when we have seen Hamilton tell us it had already declined (*vide supra*, p. 31). The production dwindled still further after the Burmese attacks of the last part of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth; but after 1850 or thereabout it kept continually increasing. By 1870 it had reached 3600 tons, culminated to fully 5000 a decade later, and then it again entered upon a phase of decline owing to the exorbitant royalties and heavy additional charges levied (amounting in the aggregate to about 40 $\%$); so that it scarcely exceeds 2500 tons at the present day.

4. I believe that the various derivations hitherto suggested for the term *Talapoy*, *Talapoin*, etc. (which are collected in “Hobson-Jobson,” 2nd ed., pp. 890-91, s. v. *Talapoin*), fall all fairly wide of the mark. The word is evidently the Moñ Tala-kh’pôî, which sounds practically as Tala-pôî when pronounced quickly, meaning “My Lord.” Tala=Master, Lord; Kh’pôî or pôî=“Our,” “my,” is more particularly applied to

apartments adjoining to the *pyjoda*, which might be about fifty feet long and thirty broad. They, with uncovered shaved heads, wear a yellow garment, and carry a white wand in their hands about five feet long.....my vessel lay in *Terow Road*.....

13. Currency and manner of trading—"Certain pieces of tin, shaped like the under half of a cone or sugar loaf cut by a plane parallel to its base, called *poōi*,¹ are used on the island as money;

novices or deacons, also called *Mnily Kh'pōi*: whence Mendez Pinto's hitherto unexplained *Talagapo* (=Tala-Kh'pōi), *Grego* (=Kh'pōi), and *Neepōi* (=Mnily-pōi). The *Talayut* or *Talipot*, palm-leaf fan, has nothing whatever to do with all this as my predecessors have fancied.

1. Probably $\frac{\text{Pā}}{\text{Pā}}$, *Pāk*, a lump, which is the name still applied to the slabs or cakes of tin obtained after smelting. It may, however, be meant for the Chinese *Pao*=a lump.

Such ingots were formerly in use as currency all over the Siamese tin mining zone on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Captain Tremenheere, in his report of 1841, thus speaks of them:—"The pieces or ingots of tin in the shape of the frustum of a cone, which are manufactured at the Rehgnon [Ranong] mines, on the *Pak Chum* [Pāk Chan] river to the southward, and exchanged there for goods at $\frac{1}{2}$ annas each, weigh 1 lb. 2 oz. 383 grains; and their value at Mergui, where the average price of tin is 85 rupees per 100 viss of 365 lbs., $\frac{1}{2}$ annas $\frac{1}{2}$ pie [pice]" "Essays relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. I. p. 253.

No less curious than such cone-frustum-shaped tin ingots of Junkceylon and neighbouring districts, are the *Tampang*s of the same metal formerly used as currency in Pahang, and mentioned by the Malay traveller Abdullah in the account of his journey from Singapore to Kelantan in 1838 (Dulaurier's transl. "Voyage d'Abd-Allah," Paris 1850, pp. 22-23). Far from being, however, *ingots* as Millies conjectured ("Recherches sur les Monnaies des Indigènes" etc.; La Haye, 1871; p. 60, f. n. 1), they are hollow, and in the form of a pyramid frustum. This I can positively vouch for, as a number of them, in their various sizes, exist in my own private numismatic collection.

Millies, op. cit., p. 139, quotes from both the "Uytrekening van de goude en silveremunts waardye van Indiën" (Middelburg, 1691, p. 20) and Valentijn (vol. IV, l. p. 357) the following list of monetary values used in Junkceylon towards the end of the seventeenth century:—1 *Tahil*=60 sols; 1 *Mas*=3 $\frac{1}{2}$ sols; 1 *Bitschin* (*Bitsjin* in Valentijn)=4 $\frac{1}{2}$ [*Mas*?]=17 sols, etc. He suggests that *Bitschin* probably stands for *Bits-tin*, *Bits-tin*, i. e. "bits of tin," which, if correct, would argue them to correspond to Forrest's *poōi*, or cone-frustum-shaped ingots.

If we apply Sir Isaac Newton's estimate of the value of the *écu* (=60 sols) in 1717 ("Assays, etc., of Coins at London Mint, before 1717") at 4s. 6d. we would obtain for the *Bitschin* (17 sols) a worth of 1s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. which well agrees with the price of 3lbs. weight of tin in Captain Forrest's time.

weighing about three pounds, with their halves and quarters of similar shape: if attempted to be exported without paying duty, they are seizable. This encourages smuggling. The value of tin is from 12 to 13 Spanish dollars [=54s. to 58s. 6d.] the *pecul* of 133 lbs. put on board clear of duty.

“Whilst I was here, a Bengal ship, Captain Lloyd, came in with piece goods: the captain sold them to *Pee-Peemont*; no doubt partly on account of the king of *Siam* or his ministers. All Malay princes are merchants; which selfish policy starves their subjects. It however gives dispatch to the country ships, and they pay no duty. As soon as the goods are landed, the king’s merchant sells them perhaps for an advance of 25 *per cent*.

“All sorts of Indian coins pass here; but they are fondest of Spanish dollars. They have not in use the *petis* [Pitis or pice, very small copper or pewter coins], or cash, the least valuable of coins, used at *Atcheen*, *Sooloo*, *Carang Assem* on *Bally*, and many other Malay places.....

14—The Islanders—“The people of *Jan Sylan*, though they generally understand the Malay tongue, from their intercourse with that people (greater formerly than now), speak the Siamese language, and write as we do from left to right. They write remarkably straight, though without lines.

“They resemble in feature the Malays, with a good deal of the Chinese look; are well made, rather slender. They are allowed to marry as many women as they can maintain; but the first wife rules the household, as in *China*: and, as in *China* and *Pegu*, no woman can leave the country. *Chysong* had but one wife.....”

Such was, then, the state of affairs on the island in 1784, just one year before the series of Burmese raids began to lay it waste and to complete its misery. It will have been seen that its condition during the first 8½ decades of the eighteenth century was far from flourishing although not decidedly bad; and could have been immensely better but for the mismanagement of unscrupulous officials. From Hamilton to Forrest we hear the same refrain repeated about exorbitant exactions which deterred the inhabitants from developing the natural resources of the island. The period of

the last half dozen reigns under the old capital Ayuddhyā had been one of misrule and weakness that much slakened the hold over the outlying provinces of the kingdom and consequently brought about discontent and disaffection which largely contributed to the crashing fall of the whole worm-eaten structure. Disintegration waxed complete after that disaster, and the whole kingdom became a prey to political factions and civil wars. P'hyā Tāk, who had bravely started to unify it again and proved fully capable of keeping it well in hand, had barely accomplished the roughhewing part of the task when he turned insane, came within an inch of undoing all he had done and would have set the edifice once more a-crumbling on his own shoulders, had he not been removed in the nick of time.

Under such circumstances it would have been rash to expect things to prosper in Junkceylon any more than elsewhere. But with a sound mind and firm hand once more at the helm in the novel Siāmes capital, order had been restored, the long lost grip over the outlying limbs of the kingdom was re-tightened, and with the feeling of security that again had begun to prevail, despite the continuous wars that raged with an inveterate and unrelenting enemy, things bid fair to get into satisfactory shape. An undoubtedly wise effort had been immediately made in favour of Junkceylon by the appointment of P'hyā Bimol, an experienced Kraḥ governor, P'hyā Surindr a local highly capable official as after events proved, and two others about whose abilities we find no record but who, judging from the criterion that had guided selection of their two major colleagues, cannot have been far below the latter's level. It can be hardly doubted that these four men set about to lick things into shape in Junkceylon ; and if, owing to more weighty matters involving the security of the State that distracted its rulers' attention elsewhere, the four Junkceylon proconsuls could not perhaps secure a sufficient meed of support to their endeavours from headquarters, and eventually despaired of success, going even so far—as Captain Forrest hints—as to entertain thoughts of secession, this only proves how they were in sincere earnest as to the development of the island. As time rolled on, they doubtless became inspired with more confidence in the stability of the dynasty that had just set up to guide the destinies of Siām ; but,

alas! the unexpected change in the plan of campaign on the part of the Burmese that was to make the West coast of the Malay Peninsula one of their subsidiary objectives of attack, suddenly nipped all those rosy prospects in the bud, and Junkceylon had to wait a good bit yet before seeing the dawn of better days.

1ST BURMESE ATTACK ON C'HALANG (DEC. 1785-JAN. 1786.)

LADY CHAN, THE JUNKCEYLON JEANNE D'ARC.

The Burmo-Siānese wars that had raged almost without intermission since the middle of the eighteenth century, had so far had for theatre Central and Northern Siām. But in 1785 the Burmese, in consequence of continuous reverses suffered there recently, changed their plan of campaign, resolving to simultaneously invade Siām on the North, West, and South where they hoped to wrest from it the Malay Peninsula. With this end in view they fitted out a war flotilla which was to conquer the Siānese provinces on the West coast of the latter. The account of the doings of this flotilla that is here subjoined is culled almost in its entirety from the Bāngkok Annals of the 1st reign.¹

The Burmese flotilla, under the command of Yī-wun, sailed from Mergui early in December 1785, and attacked Takūa-pā and Takūa-thùng which, owing to their unpreparedness, it easily took. The Siānese commissioners residing at Pāk-P'hrah attempted to make a stand but were defeated. P'hrayā Dhammatrailok fell in the fight, while P'hrayā P'hip'hit-p'hôkhai fled viā P'hang-ngā and crossed the main range by the pass which has since been named after him (Dān P'hrah P'hip'hit, ด่าน พระพิพิต, the Mt. Prapipit of our maps).

After these doings the Burmese flotilla made for Junkceylon, where a force was landed to invest the capital C'halāng. Several stockades were erected round the city for this purpose. The governor (P'hrayā Thalāng) had but recently died and no successor

1. By Chāu P'hrayā Dibākawongse (Khām), who was Foreign Minister until 1870 when he died. The first portion of these Annals has been published in continuation of the Annals of Ayuddhyā and of the reign of P'hyā Tāk (vol. II, pp. 650-739). It stops short at the year 1792. The account of the Burmese attack on Junkceylon is therein to be found on pp. 695 and 697.

to him had as yet been appointed. Nevertheless Chan (จันทน์ = 'Date-plum'),¹ the widow of the late governor (if so, this official must have been Mom Sri P'nakdi, see p. 43 above), assisted by Muk (มุก = 'Pearl') a younger sister of hers, who was still unmarried, consulted with the local officials about organizing the defence. "They assembled men and built two large stockades wherewith to protect the town. The dowager governess and her maiden sister displayed great bravery, and fearlessly faced the enemy. They urged the officials and the people, both males and females, to fire the ordnance and muskets, and led them day after day in sorties out of the stockades to fight the Burmese. So the latter were unable to reduce the town and after a month's vain attempts, provisions failing them, they had to withdraw" (January 1786). Thus was C'halāng saved through the heroism of the two sisters.²

1. Her name is spelled จันทร, *Chandr* (= 'Moon') in the local relation of 1841; but no such name would be given to a woman, as the Moon in Indū (and therefore in Siānese) cosmo-mythology, is a masculine deity, like the *Deus Lunus* among the Romans. If we find the term in such names as *c. g.* Chandra-devī ('Moon Goddess,' 'Moon Queen'), it then applies to the best half of the Moon-god and not to the deity itself. There cannot, accordingly, be any doubt that the correct spelling is, in the case in point, จัน or จันทน์, with relation to the fruit of *Diospyros decandra* or Date-plum, ลูกจันทน์. This being yellow in colour, the name is usually conferred upon children of a fallow complexion.

2. Sir Arthur Phayre in his "History of Burma" (London, 1883, p. 215) which is as a rule one year wrong in the dates it gives, briefly and somewhat incorrectly alludes to this Burmese attack on Junkceylon (which he misplaces early in A. D. 1785) as follows:—"A preliminary expedition was sent by sea, which took possession of Junk Seylon, but after a few weeks the force was driven out by the Siamese, and obliged to return to Mergui. The advantage to be derived from this isolated attack is not apparent. Success could have had little effect on the main object, which was to occupy the capital. Junk Seylon could not be made the base for operations against Bangkok, and the only benefit to be derived from the occupation of that island by the Burmese, would be to intercept the supply of firearms coming from Indian ports, of which traffic however there is no evidence. The expedition was a very expensive one, and caused a great loss in men."—Now, this is nearly all wrong. For, the attack was not an isolated one since the North and West of Siām had been simultaneously invaded, while a force had been

Intelligence of the Burmese advance on Junkceylon had reached Bāngkok towards the end of December 1785; but the Siāme-ese armies being then (January and February 1786) engaged in repelling the enemy in the north, and on the Kanburī frontier in the west, no relief could be sent. As soon as victory had crowned Siāme-ese operations in those quarters, the Second King was despatched (in March 1786) to clear the Burmese out of the Malay Peninsula, which he successfully did, proceeding as far south as Ligor and Singora, whence he recalled Patāni and other rebellious Malay States back to allegiance.

On hearing this welcome news, the officials at C'halāng sent a report of the local occurrences to the Second King at Singora and one to headquarters at Bāngkok. Order having been restored in the Malay Peninsula the Second King returned to the capital, where-upon the Supreme King directed a letter to be despatched to C'halāng appointing Governor one of the local officials who had distinguished himself (?)¹ and conferring upon the widow of the late Governor that had so successfully organized the defence, the rank of Lady Deva-krasattrī (ท้าวเทพกระษัตรี), and on her maiden sister, that of Lady Sri-Sundara (ท้าวศรีสุนทร). To these two ladies the King sent the insignia appropriate to their ranks and merits in resisting the enemy.²

SUBSEQUENT LIFE OF THE TWO C'HALANG HEROINES.

P'hrayā P'himol (Bimol), late governor of Kraḥ residing first at C'hump'hon and subsequently, since 1782 or thereabout,

despatched across the Kraḥ Isthmus which took C'hump'hon, Ligor, and even threatened Singora. As to the importation not only of fire arms, but also of bales of cotton goods, from Indian ports by way of Junkceylon, we have ample evidence in the report of 1841 (see Appendix A, No. I, and p. 44 above). Further, the Burmese did not take possession of the island, but simply attacked its northern capital C'halāng.

1. This can only be P'hrayā P'himol who, so far, had probably been only acting governor. As we are going to see, he wedded the heroine Chan soon after the defeat of the Burmese.

2. The titles here alluded to are on a par with those of the chief ladies in the royal household. This has probably been the only instance in Siāme-ese history of their being conferred upon ladies not attached to the royal palace.

interim or joint commissioner in the island, probably was the new governor appointed to C'halāng. At all events we know from Captain Forrest's account already quoted above (p. 49) as well as from the Siānese records that this official had come to the island and resided thither for several years, finally wedding Lady Deva-Krasattri (Chan). From her he had five children, the eldest of whom, a daughter, Thong (ทอง) by name, he brought afterwards to Bāngkok presenting her at Court. There she became in due course the mother of Princess Ubol (พระองค์เจ้าอุบล). Now, this Princess was the 32nd child of King P'hrah Buddha Yot-fā, and must have been born shortly after 1800, and at any rate not later than 1809. This fact supplies a check to our chronology, and argues that her mother Thong must have come to light in this world about 1786; and hence that the re-marriage of Lady Deva-krasattri with P'hrayā P'himol took place early in 1786, and therefore soon after the siege of C'halāng.

Some time after this Thien, the eldest son of Lady Deva-Krasattri from her first husband, brought an action against his step-father P'hrayā P'himol, in consequence of which the latter was removed to P'hatthalung. The son of Chom Thāu of Bān Don was then appointed governor, and is recorded in local documents under the title of P'hrayā Thalāng of the Golden Tray (P'hrayā Thalāng Chiet-thong).¹ Having incurred the royal displeasure for some escapade committed later, this official was arrested and brought to Bāngkok where he died under confinement. Thien, the son of Lady Deva-Krasattri, was then appointed to succeed him, and is nicknamed the Asthmatic Governor (P'hrayā Thalāng Hūt, พระยา ถาลง หืด). He was given Nāi Rüang, the younger brother of the deposed governor, as *Palat* or vice-governor; and Nāi C'hū as Yokkrabatr or registrar. These three officials all bore then P'hrayā rank.

1. Chiet, ^{เจียต}เจียต, is the name of a tray chiefly intended to contain wild tea-leaves and other stuff for chewing, formerly conferred by the King as an insignia of rank on high officials. It since fell into disuse, and is now-a-days replaced by the ^{พานทอง}พานทอง, P'hān-thong, another form of tray.

As to Lady Sñi-Sundara (Muk) the younger sister of the heroine, the records are silent after this date; hence it is not unlikely that she remained a maid and perhaps passed off the scene of this world not long later.

Without resorting to the history of the Western world which records examples of heroic women almost in every country and age from Boadicea to the Maid of Saragoza, we can find in the annals of Siām itself numerous instances of patriotic amazons who have sacrificed their life and blood for the defence of their own country.¹ But the deeds of the C'halāng sisters find a more fitting though—it should be averred—somewhat superior parallel, in those of the two sisters Trüing who, in A. D. 43, died drowned in the Red River while fighting for the independence of Annam against the Chinese invading army under the famed general Ma-yüan. The memory of these heroines has been immortalized, besides in Annamese history, in a shrine erected in their honour where to this day the somewhat degenerate descendants of their people repair to worship with scented tapers and wreaths.

But no monument has ever been raised to the glorious Boadiceas and Jeannes d'Arc of Siām recording their patriotic gallantry to the present and future generations. In so far as Junkceylon is concerned, it is to be hoped that some fitting memorial, whether a stela, spire, or little shrine will, in a not too distant future, be erected by public subscription on the island as a memento of what

1. Among such may be mentioned: 1. Queen Suriyôthai who, donning male armour during the Peguan siege of Ayuddhyā in 1563-64 (rectified date), followed the King in a sortie towards the P'hū-kháu Thong fields, and fell killed on her elephant; 2. Lady Mō (ท้าว มุข ทณิง มุก), wife of the *Palat* (vice-governor) of Khōrāj; who, being taken prisoner with the other inhabitants in 1826 when the city was stormed by king Anu of Wieng Chan, mutinied on the way thereto, and at the head of a body of 460 women joined the men in attacking the Wieng Chan troops, and defeated them, thus returning with her rescued companions to Khōrāj; 3. The two C'halāng sisters and numbers of their fellow-citizens of the fair sex who assisted them in defending that town.

It will thus be seen that woman in Siām has a record in heroism not second to that of any other country.

was done for its freedom by the two C'halāng sisters, at which the younger folk may inspire themselves to their patriotism and the aged may depose the pious tribute of a prayer or a flower.

THE OVERLAND ROUTE FOR TIN AND INDIAN IMPORTED GOODS,
Prior to 1785.

The rare Siāmesese documents reproduced in appendix A, Nos. I, III, and IV, put us in possession of information unobtainable elsewhere about the overland route by which the royalty in kind on tin produced at Junkceylon and the neighbouring districts on the mainland, as well as a number of articles imported thereto from the Coromandel coast, were conveyed across the Malay Peninsula towards the Siāmesese capital. Most of the disclosures are extremely interesting and relate to facts hitherto ignored by Europeans and scarcely known even to the present generation of Siāmesese; so that their publication here for the first time throws no few side-lights on overland communication across the Malay Peninsula as well as on the route followed by a large portion of the Southern Indian trade and goods conveyed to Siām.¹

1. Mr. Leal got an inkling about—not the old, but—the new route followed by tin in his time (1825) when he visited Bān Don. He says: “The *Tha-kham* [Thā-khām] proceeds nearly across the peninsula, passing to *Pennom* [P’hanom or Thā P’hanom], a town three days journey from Phoonga [P’hang-ngā], on the western coast opposite Junkceylon, the tin and other produce of which island, find their way by this route to Bangkok.”—Reprint in Anderson’s “English Intercourse with Siam,” pp. 394-395. More recently Warrington Smyth briefly referred to this route as follows:

“A route greatly used in the old days, for sending the tin of the west coast to Bangkok, was up the *Pan Nga* [P’hang-ngā] or *Paklao* [Pāk Lāu] River, and then down the Bandon Valley by the other branch. I should have wished, had time permitted, to follow up these routes myself, but, owing to the absence of any tin-mining south of the bight, I had no excuse for going.” (“Five Years in Siam,” vol. II, p. 80). Yea, a very queer, but Pilate-like, way of washing one’s hands of so interesting a question, on which it needed but some little pains to obtain useful information from the elder inhabitants of the Bān Don or P’hang-ngā districts. Thus it comes about that we are incorrectly told that this was the *old* route, whereas it was the *new* one,—the old route starting not from Pāk-Lāu or P’hang-ngā, but from Takūa-pā as set forth above. And then, all we are informed about is tin; whereas the Indian goods conveyed across the Peninsula by those routes have remained an unfathomed mystery to both Leal and Smyth.

181478



The Old Route.—This route, we learn from document 1, started from Takūa-pā on the West and crossed the main range by the rather difficult Kháu Sok (ខ្នៅ ស៊ក) Pass, the *Mt. Lock* of our playful cartographers. After this it descended the eastern slope and reached the P'hanom or Thā P'hnom river (កណ្ដៈ ឃ្នង កណ្ដៈ កាំ ឃ្នង) at Thā Kháu Sok (កាំ ខ្នៅ ស៊ក); i. e. 'Sok Mount Landing-place.' This stream is the southwestern branch of the old Thā Thong (កាំ តុង) sometimes called Thā Khām (កាំ គ្រាំ) river, which joins the southern one, the Bān Don, at the head of the Bān Don inlet. Thā Kháu Sok is probably one and the same place as Thā P'hnom and at all events cannot lie far away from it, the latter name meaning 'Mountain Landing-place.' Here the tin and other produce were loaded into small boats and conveyed down stream to Bān Don, whence they were forwarded to the capital of Siām.

Such is the route that had been followed for the goods in question since the time of Ayuddhyā down to 1785, when the Burmese invasion of the Siāmesse provinces on the East coast of the Malay Peninsula put a stop not only to conveyancing operations along that route, but was furthermore the cause that an enormous quantity of tin and valuable crown property which had accumulated at the Kháu Sok Pass, remained blocked there for years and went in part lost. These are the facts alluded to in Document I, as follows :

"Whenever crown property had accumulated [to a certain quantity], the P'halāng authorities used to send it on to Takūa-thing, and the authorities there had it conveyed to Takūa-pā, this being the custom that had invariably been followed for a long period. When P'halāng had not as yet been taken by the Burmese, whereas Takūa-thing, Takūa-pā, Chaiyā and Chumphon had fallen into their hands [1785] quantities of tin, bales of fabrics [Indian piece-goods] and fire-arms, had accumulated and lay idle at the Sok Mountain. Lāiang P'hejr-dhanū (Seng), an official from Ligor, having come at Bān Kāu Sam-ó on the P'hanom river, collected men and started to convey the crown property down to Thā Kháu Sok [evidently without being authorized to do so]. Hence a Royal

a larger proportion of the distance being travelled by water. His scheme was eventually approved of and carried out under his own supervision in 1804.

Before we proceed to describe it in detail, we wish to conclude these few notes on the old route by the Kháu Sok pass, by pointing out that this overland communication between the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula at Takūa-pā and the East Coast at Bān Don (C'haiyā district) was probably already known from the halcyon days of Takūa-pā or *Takola* as a commercial centre and entrepôt for the inland trade of those parts, when the streams on both sides of the pass, being deeper and more navigable, made that route far easier than now-a-days. C'haiyā is known to be a very ancient foundation, which fact is further evidenced by the Sanskrit inscription of probably the eighth or ninth century A. D. but recently found there. At a period when the long circuitous navigation round the Malay Peninsula by way of the Straits was no small matter, overland routes that considerably shortened the journey from one to the other side of it were—notwithstanding the difficulties of conveying merchandise by them—naturally regarded with far greater favour than now-a-days. Thus it is that the three or four routes by the Kháu Mon Pass, the Krañ Isthmus, the Kháu Sok Pass, and probably a yet more southern one between Trang and Ligor (or Singora and P'hattalung) came to be eagerly availed of from the remotest ages and continued to hold their own until the advent of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English in these seas, when improved means of navigation and the revolution that took place in the interoceanic trade, gradually led to their complete abandonment in favour of the sea-route.

OPENING OF A NEW OVERLAND ROUTE, 1804.

Subjoined is the account of the opening of the new overland route, translated from the document above referred to.

“ We shall now relate the opening of the route that starts from Marùì [and proceeds by] Pāk Lāu, and Thā P'hame.¹ Chāu

1. The Pāk Lāu river debouches into the bight east of the mouth of the P'hang-ngā river. Marùì is the first important place one meets

ask for a requisition of pack-elephants, to the number of 10 from Ligor and 10 from C'haiyā; that is, 20 altogether, which with the necessary men he would propose to put in charge of Lúang P'hip'hith Khoc'hakan as chief of the corps of transports and forwarding of all crown property by that route.

“The King approved of the scheme and granted the elephants for the purpose, as well as convenient sites at Pāk P'hanom and Pāk Lāu, as set forth in detail in the letter he directed the Kalāhôm Department to despatch to the authorities of the provinces concerned.¹ At Pāk P'hnom the three officials K'hún Thip'h-sombat, Khún P'hejr-khirī, and Khún Srī Songkhrām were to be put in charge of the station. For Marùi and Pāk Lāu Lúang Riddhirong-songkhrām was to be superintendent; and all the territory between Marùi and Pāk P'hnom was placed under the control of Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā.²

“Pursuant to the above royal grant, Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā returned to his native country [and made at once arrangements for the carrying out of the scheme]. He accordingly appointed Khún Thip'h-sombat to be Lúang Rāmabijai,³ and stationed him at P'hanom with orders to cut a track through the jungle from Pāk P'hnom to P'hang-ngā. He further directed Lúang Riddhirong-songkhrām to collect a sufficient number of men [serfs] at Marùi and Pāk Lāu wherewith to convey, whenever required, crown property across the range to Thā P'hnou, to be handed over there to Lúang Rāmabijai who was to forward it on towards its destination.

“Moreover Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā established the following halting-stations and guard posts on the overland route :

1. Dated Thursday, 5th waxing of the [second] 8th month, year of the Rat, 6th of the decennial cycle (= 12th July, 1804). This document is reproduced in Appendix A, No. III.

2. The boundaries of such a territory are defined in the documents appended to the letter-patent alluded to above.

3. As will be seen from the sequel, Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā had authority to make such appointments. Similar power was enjoyed by the principal provincial governors in so far as petty official posts in the country were concerned.

1.—at the foot of Kháu Nāng Hóng (“Swan-hen Mountain ”),

เขา นางหงส์,

2.—at Pāk Dān, ปาก ดาน (or ปาก กระ ดาน, Pāk Kradān) ;

3.—at Thùng-Khā, ตำบลทุ่งคา,

4.—at Marùì, มะรุ่ย;

5.—at Pāk P’hnóm; ปาก พนม ;

and had rest-houses built at each of them,¹ and men collected thither for the protection of the crown property.

“So, henceforth only the valuables from the Takūa-pā district, were [conveyed across the Kháu Sok Pass and] transported down stream to Thā Kháu Sok [as of yore]; whereas those from P’hang-ngā, Thalāng, and Takūa-thùng were brought together at Marùì where they waited until the pack elephants were ready to load them. Lúang Nā was promoted to P’hrāh Wiset-songkhram superintendent of the Dān Yāu station, and entrusted with the task of receiving and embarking the valuables at P’hanom, and bringing them down stream [to Bān Don or further]. Khún P’hejr [-khīrī] and Khún Indr were appointed to assist him as overseers.

“Upon these arrangements being completed, Chāu P’hrayā Surindr-rājā despatched Khún Srī Somp’hôt to solicit an audience from His Highness the governor of Ligor,² and inform him of the official appointments he had made at the stations and guard-posts from Marùì to Pāk P’hnóm. The governor of Ligor observed that Chāu P’hrayā Surindr had better not to make such appointments, as he would send out himself the officials required from Ligor; so that future governors might not have cause to censure their administra-

1. Kháu Nāng Hóng is near Pāk Lāu; Pāk Dān is further upstream from Pāk Lāu village, on the banks of Khlong Lāu; Thùng-Khā is on the eastern (really north-eastern) watershed towards Thā P’hnóm; Pāk P’hnóm is one and the same place as (or near by) Thā P’hnóm; Marùì is within the entrance of Khlong Lāu, below Pāk Lāu village.

2. This was then Mom-chāu P’hat (Vaddhana), the son of a Prince of the Ayuddhyā dynasty. He governed Ligor from 1785 to 1821 in which year he retired owing to old age, and died in 1839. His eldest son had succeeded him since 1821.

tion and allege that the present governor of Ligor and Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā being good chums, availed themselves of their excellent mutual relations in order to turn things upside down and to unite and dismember the country at their own sweet pleasure.¹

"When Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā heard of these objections, he sent a reply to the governor of Ligor pointing out how it would have been far better for the latter not to appoint the officials in question himself as proposed ; that he, Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā, would see to that, in order that the crown property might be conveyed in accordance with the plan he had submitted to the King and which he had been authorized to carry out. There the dispute ended, and so the posts of Marūi and Thā P'hnom remained under the full control of Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā."

The document from which we have extracted the above account proceeds to give a few more particulars as to taxes, boundaries, etc. with which we are not directly interested here, and concludes by explaining which were the "Eight Districts" placed under Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā's superintendence, as follows :

"Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā was the highest authority over the Eight Districts. P'hrayā Prasiddhi Songkhram [apparently his son and successor] was also Chāng-wāng (*i. e.* Governor General) over the same eight districts. The Eight Districts in question were :

1. Thalāng, ๓๓๓	[Junkceylon Island]	5. Korā, ๓๓๓	[under Takūa-pā]
2. P'hūket, ๓๓๓		6. P'hang-ngā, ๓๓๓	
3. Takūa-pā, ๓๓๓		7. Khurah, ๓๓๓	
4. Takūa-thūng, ๓๓๓		8. Khurot, ๓๓๓	

Korā, P'hang-ngā, Khurah and Khurot were immediate dependencies of Takūa-pā."

These passages clearly show what was the organization of the tin-producing territories on the West coast of the Malay Peninsula during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the beginning

1. These objections were, of course, prompted by the fact that the territory of Marūi, Pāk Lāu, and Thā P'hnom through which the new route passed, was under the high control of the Ligor authorities.

2ND BURMESE INVASION OF JUNKCEYLON: AUGUST, 1809.

The next mention of occurrences at Junkceylon Island to be met with in local records is that of the Burmese invasions of 1809-10, accounts of which are subjoined, taken almost in their entirety from the Bāngkok Annals of the second reign.

In June-July (1809) the king of Burma having heard of the serious illness of the Siāinese sovereign¹, sent orders to Mēng-nā-lē, the Burmese governor of Tavoy, to equip a flotilla and sail down the West coast of the Malay Peninsula to gather reliable news on Siāinese affairs. Mēng-nā-lē, having got every thing in readiness took the sea with 60 war boats and 3000 men. He pushed down as far as Junkceylon where he anchored and landed a force wherewith to take possession of the principal villages on the coast. This having been accomplished, the Burmese troops encamped themselves at some 50 *sens* (1½ miles) from Thalāng town.

The inhabitants there were quite unready, having been taken by surprise. Nevertheless the governor (P'hrayā Thalāng) collected men to guard the ramparts. The Burmese invested the city from three sides and prepared for attack. Their advanced posts occupied several points of vantage in front of the town, carefully guarding its approaches from the sea, so that no outside relief should reach it.

1. P'hrah Buddha Yot-fā, who deceased on the 7th September, 1809.

title to recognition from the fact that, having become fully aware of his fault and the consequences thereof to himself, he displayed earnestness in organizing subsequently the defence in his district with stockades, etc., and thus succeeded in capturing many of the enemies including one of their chiefs. This was a deserving act on the part of the governor of Thalāng; which, though insufficient to clear him entirely of blame, should save him from the application of capital punishment. Therefore, let him be brought to the capital in durance vile, so that he may amend his ways for the future.

Having thus expressed himself, the king commanded the Kalāhôm to despatch a royal commissioner with a warrant to seize the governor of Thalāng and bring him to Bāngkok to serve his sentence; meanwhile to entrust one of the principal local officials with the defence of the island against new possible attacks of the Burmese. The commissioner appointed proceeded to Thalāng with the warrant, notified the royal commands to the local officials, and having seized the governor brought him in fetters to Bāngkok. The king thereupon sentenced him to receive sixty strokes of the rattan on his back, and to be imprisoned.

Chik-kē, the captured Burmese chief, was beheaded at the Wat Saket cemetery; but his followers were merely sent to jail.

Meanwhile, Mēng-nā-lē, the Tavoy governor, having reached that town with his flotilla, proceeded up to Ava to inform the king of his successes. The Burmese king forthwith expressed his intention of despatching a powerful expedition into Siām to seize the capital.

On the other hand the King of Siām, considering that Thalāng was an outlying district constantly exposed to Burmese attacks and that there was no governor on the spot able to efficiently defend it, the former occupant of that office being still in prison, thought that the three months' penance the latter had undergone might prove a sufficient corrective for him; and further that he, being a native of the place and fully conversant with local needs and conditions, if pardoned would seemingly be able to induce the people to offer a vigorous resistance to any future attacks on the part of the Burmese. Thereupon he had the governor released and reinstated

into his former appointment. The unlucky governor took leave of His Majesty and returned to his post a sadder, though perhaps no wiser, man.¹

3RD BURMESE INVASION OF JUNKCEYLON:
Nov.—Dec., 1809 to Jan., 1810.

Meanwhile the King of Burma had sent general Atöng-wun to Tavoy for the purpose of making raids on C'hump'hon, Taküa-pā, Taküa-thùng and Thalāng. Towards the end of October (1809) this officer having made all necessary preparations both by land and sea, despatched Yë-khong at the head of a body of some 4000 men in war boats to attack Thalāng; and a similar force of 3000 men to raid Ranong, Krah, and C'hump'hon.

Yë-khong sailed out and took Taküa-pā on the 17th of October; then he swooped on Taküa-thùng which offered no resistance, the people having fled terror-struck into the jungle. Hence he made ready to attack Thalāng, and with this end in view he established his headquarters at Pāk-P'hrah.

Intelligence of the fall of Taküa-pā and Taküa-thùng had meanwhile been sent to Bāngkok by the respective authorities. The Thalāng governor also despatched a message in all haste to the capital informing the Court of the grave peril impending upon the island. He next did his best in providing for its defence, and got the inhabitants inside the stockades.

The Burmese having landed and taken position, advanced to attack the stockade outside the town, which they carried. Then they invested Thalāng town with 25 stockades connected together by entrenchments with caltrops, etc., very accurately built. Meeting, however, with a stubborn resistance on the part of the besieged, they decided to resort to stratagem and feign a retreat. Thus, after having set fire to their 25 stockades they withdrew and got into their boats, sailing out towards the end of November. The governor of Thalāng, upon learning from the explorers he had

1, I should not think it can be here a question of P'hrayā Thalāng Chīet-thong, for in the 1841 report it is distinctly stated as we have seen above (p. 62) that this official died in prison at Bāngkok. It seems likely, therefore, that his immediate successor Thien—the Asthmatic—is implied.

sent out to watch the Burmese movements, that the enemy was really gone out of sight of the island, very foolishly allowed his people to leave the camps and attend to their business, as provisions had begun to run very scarce.

Yē-gaung, on the other hand, after having sailed and lounged about for a few days, well imagining that the Thalāng people must have deserted their stockades, so that by a sudden return he should easily carry the town, hastened back and landed his force at [the] Yā-mū [peninsula] in the P'hūket district. Thence, marching through the jungle across the interior of the island, he unexpectedly appeared before Thalāng town which he invested on Sunday, the 17th December, 1809. The Thalāng governor summoned his men to the stockades, but time failed for the assembling of a sufficient force for the efficient defence of the place.

Meanwhile the Bāngkok government, on receipt of the tidings, had despatched P'hrayā Daśayodhā and P'hrayā Rāja-prasiddhi at the head of 6000 men from C'haiyā across the Peninsula by the Pāk P'hnom route, to relieve Thalāng. It further sent Chāu P'hrayā Yomarāj (Noi) as general, and P'hrayā Thāi-nam as vanguard commander to Ligor with 5000 men and orders for the governor there to collect at least another 10,000 wherewith to move in aid of Thalāng.¹

1. An attempt had been made by government to obtain the 10,000 men required from Kamboja, as the "Gia-dinh Thung-chi" informs us. Here is the passage bearing on the matter, culled from Aubaret's translation of that Annamese work:—"On the 8th year of Jā-long, in the 8th month (September-October 1809), the King of Siam had a despatch sent to Kamboja announcing that as his kingdom was at war with Burma, the hostilities having as theatre the territory of *Xa-lang* (C'halāng), he requested some 10,000 Kambojan auxiliaries to be sent as reinforcements. An advance body of 3,000 men was to proceed by sea and place itself at the disposal of the King of Siam in the city of *Vong-ca* [Bāngkok] which is the royal residence" (Aubaret's "Histoire et Description de la Basse Cochinchine"; Paris, 1863; p. 123). But a rebellion broke out in Kamboja on the 13th day of the same (eighth) month, and no men were sent on to Siām.

The extract just quoted is important as evidencing that the Annamese way of spelling the name of Junkceylon, agrees with the Siāmesse one. With the *quoc-ngũ* system of romanization, the name assumes the form *Xa-lang* which is identical with the one (Xalang) employed by Bishop Pallegoix to render the Siāmesse name of the island after the

The two generals with the first nucleus of troops left Bāngkok on the 2nd December ; and having got their complement of men at Ligor, crossed over the Peninsula to Trang. Here, not finding sufficient boats in readiness, they resolved to tarry for a while in order to build new ones. When some 80 boats had been got together, P'hrayā Thāi-nam was sent on in advance with 30. As he neared Koh C'hanak¹ he heard the noise of the Burmese gongs, and drums, and of the enemy's shouts in the distance, so he steered for the shore of Junkceylon. Here he found that the Burmese expedition had just landed at Thā Ya-mū.

Siamese disaster at Ya-mu—A fight ensued, in which the Burmese were worsted at first owing to lack of artillery in their boats, as they had taken their guns out on shore, and sent them on to be used in the sieges of Thalāng and P'hūket (Thā Rūa town). But through the negligence of some artillery-man in P'hrayā Thāi-nam's war-boat the lid a barrel of gunpowder had not been carefully replaced ; hence some sparks from the guns soon fell in the barrel and set the contents ablaze. A terrific explosion followed which blew the boat to pieces. Moreover the sparks reached the gunpowder barrels in the neighbouring boats as well, thus causing several of them to be blown out in succession. But while some of the occupants of the latter escaped unhurt or but slightly wounded, every man in P'hayā Thāi-nam's boat perished. Lúang Sunthorn

same system. It might, of course, be observed that the Annamese probably got the form *Xa-lang* (=C'ha-lāng) from the Siānese ; but it is more likely they became independently acquainted with the island, or first heard of it through Chinese sources.

1. เกาะ พันธ์. This island lies to the northward of Pulo Panjang. It seems, therefore, that the Siānese flotilla was keeping close by the shore of the Malay Peninsula, and had probably just taken some channel between the islands to the north of Pulo Panjang, in order to proceed thence towards the north-eastern coast of Junkceylon. It would seem almost that its intention was to proceed by Pāk-P'hrah Strait to the West coast of the island, and thence, by the Bān-Don River (คลองบ้านดอน) to reach Thalāng town (then rising on the site of the present village of Bān Takhien). But probably the course in question was simply steered in order to keep under cover of the islands and reach some point on the east or north-east coast of Junkceylon unperceived by the Burmese.

and Lúang Kambhēng-songkhrām rushed in to lend assistance; and, amongst others, they recovered the shattered body of P'hya Thāi-nam whom they brought ashore at Khlong Bāng Lāu (Khlong Lāu or Pāk Lāu) whence the remains were sent on to Bāngkok. Owing to the above deplorable accident, no further operations against the Burmese could be undertaken by this naval expedition.

As to P'hrayā Daśayodhā who had come across the Peninsula with his force from C'haiyā, he reached P'hang-ngā and took position at the mouth of the stream there (Pāk-nam Mūang P'hang-ngā); but was unable to cross thence to Junkceylon, as he had only small boats at hand; so he waited for the wind to calm down before attempting the passage.

On the other hand the Burmese, upon becoming aware that several Siānese expeditions were on their way to relieve Junkceylon, hastened their operations and stormed P'hūket (Thā Rūa town) which they carried in a single day. They then sent the troops available there to reinforce those engaged about Thalāng.

Fall of Thalāng—The siege of Thalāng had sedulously been carried on day and night for 27 days, and at last the town fell into the Burmese hands on Saturday, the 13th January, 1810. The Burmese plundered the place and carried the people captives to Tavoy.

So far the Bāngkok Annals of the Second Reign. A few more particulars on the above events are supplied to us by Pallegoix in his chapter on the history of Catholic missions in Siām¹ and by the brief "History of the Churches of India, Burma, Siam,"² etc. Pallegoix' account relates to the siege of the city of "Jongselang." Although it may not appear quite clearly at first sight whether under such designation C'halāng town or P'hūket (*i. e.* Thā Rūa) town is meant, there can be no doubt that it is really a question of the former, for the account mentions that the town fell after four weeks of a very harassing siege, which practically tallies with the 27 days assigned to the same in the Bāngkok Annals. P'hūket (*i. e.* Thā Rūa) town, on the contrary, was reduced, as we have seen, in a single day. An important particular we glean from Pallegoix' narrative is, that a French missionary had again been sent to the

1. "Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam," tome II, pp. 284-286.

2. *China Review*, vol. XVIII (1889-90), p. 12.

island, who remained besieged in its capital along with the other inhabitants, and though having succeeded in making his escape ultimately met his death at the hand of unscrupulous murderers. With these premises we may now proceed to give here a translation of the account, which runs as follows.

“Towards the end of November 1809, the Burmese laid siege to *Jongtelang* town. After four weeks of a very bloody siege, the fortress,—the hope and refuge of all the inhabitants of the island,—was taken and burnt to ashes by the enemy. Some of the inhabitants were killed; the remnant were either made prisoners or sought safety into the woods. M. Rabeau, an apostolical missionary who had remained in the citadel the whole time that the siege lasted, occupied himself in tending the sick, teaching the pagans, and baptising many adults among whom were two Buddhist monks and a large number of little children on the point of death.

Christian and a friend of his. A short time after they had put out to sea, the crew—who were either people from Bengal or Moors,—seized the captain and bound him with the intention of casting him overboard. M. Rabeau strongly upbraided the crew in order to deter them from such a crime, but they bound him also and cast both of them into the sea; thus the holy missionary perished a victim to his charity. Those villains further massacred some other persons. A violent storm prevented them from reaching the place they were bound to; they were blown away on the Madras coast where they were arrested and prosecuted.¹

“Some years before the death of M. Rabeau the English had established themselves on *Pulo Pinang* [Penang Island, A. D. 1786] where then existed but a score of fishermen’s huts. This new colony having rapidly increased, nearly all the Christians of *Quedah* and *Jongselang* sought refuge in it, and formed there two Christian settlements which survive to this day.”

Before concluding these notes on the sieges of P’hūket (Thā Rua town) and Thalāng or C’halāng, it may be well to call attention to an error in chronology that has long been repeated in European accounts of the island and which, if not exposed, threatens to acquire a permanent standing. In which work it first appeared and who was the writer who carelessly or inadvertently originated it I am unable to say; suffice therefore to point out that even in the latest editions of carefully compiled publications such as, *e. g.* the “Bay of Bengal Pilot”² and the “China Sea Directory”³ we find it stated that “the town of Tarúa [Thā Rua], which.....was formerly the residence of the Raja of Puket.....was demolished by the Burmese” in 1796. Now, in so far as I could find, there was no Burmese invasion of Junkceylon that year; and the destruction of Thā Rua here alluded to cannot be other than that which, as we have seen above, took place towards the end of December 1809, or early in January 1810. A mistake of a mere 13 to 14 years, which

1. The *China Review* account is far more brief than the above which it confirms in the main points. The name of Father Rabeau has there been misprinted *Rabran*.

2. 3rd ed.; London, 1901, p. 435.

3. vol. I, 4th ed.; London, 1896, pp. 119-120.

evidences how the few scraps of Junkceylonese history hitherto dealt out to us in extant works of reference sorely need not only supplementing, but also drastic emendation.

4TH BURMESE INVASION OF THE ISLAND: 1811-12.

The tidings of Burmese freebooting on Junkceylon reached the Siāmesse Court at Bāngkok on the 17th February 1810. Thé King, gravely preoccupied with the want of success of his troops, had a message despatched to Chāu P'hrayā Yomarāj, the general in command at Trang, censuring him for his inaction which resulted in the Burmese being suffered to twice attack the island and reducing both its cities; and exhorting him to be on the alert, as the enemy might return to deliver attacks on both Trang and Ligor.

It was, however, on Junkceylon that the Burmese again vented their spite. By the end of December 1811 or the dawn of January 1812 a body of them, 5000 strong, once more landed on the island and took position at about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from Thalāng town, building stockades which lacked, however, in solidity. Upon news of the fresh invasion reaching Bāngkok, the King ordered the Kalāhôm to collect some 8000 men in the Malay Peninsula, where he sent his younger brother the Second King with another 2000 men from Bāngkok with a view to their marching to the relief of Junkceylon. The Second King, however, had barely arrived at C'hump'hon, when intelligence reached him that the Burmese had been compelled by the inhabitants to raise the siege of Thalāng. The local officials had succeeded in making three of the enemy prisoners, whom they sent along with the message. So the expedition returned to Bāngkok without having to strike a blow.

This bloodless dénouement, besides frustrating an occasion for the leaders of the expedition to distinguish themselves, also deprived the national literature and, the more unfortunately so, that of Junkceylon, of perhaps one of its gems. For Chamün Sṛi Soraraks, who followed in the expedition, had commenced to write down a description of the journey in the form of the well-known erotic poems styled Nirās, *นิราศ*, i. e. "Separation [from one's sweet-heart]," which in consequence remained at the state of a mere fragment, stopping off abruptly at mouth of the Thā-Chīn

River.¹ Junkceylon was to have to wait another half century before getting its bard.

HOW A CHINESE TRADER ROSE TO BE CAPITAN CHINA
AT JUNKCEYLON: 1821.

After the above date the Burmese, having their attention distracted by more weighty matters at home, left Junkceylon quiet. But,—the Bāngkok Annals tell us towards the end of the Second Reign,—they had been all the time instigating the English, the Annamese, and the rāja of Kedah, to attack Bāngkok. This is what led to the Siāmesse repressive expedition upon Kedah in November 1821, owing to the following incident which caused the scale of Siāmesse longanimity to turn.

That year a Macao Chinaman, Lim Hoi, ลิม หอย, by name, who was a resident merchant of Thalāng, had gone to Penang on business, and while returning therefrom he caught sight of a Burmese sailing vessel, looking somewhat differently from ordinary trading boats. His suspicions being aroused he attacked it, and while examining its contents, came across a Burmese official letter addressed to the rāja of Kedah. He thereupon seized the boat and crew, which he brought to Thalāng and made over to the governor. This official forwarded the letter and

1. This interesting fragment of what should have proved no second rate literary production, has been preserved—strange to say—in a collection of old erotic poems, printed under the title of เพลง ยาว เก๋า, in small 8vo.; pp. 15-27.

It should be mentioned that the Trang governor of the period (พระยาตรัง), himself a distinguished poet, on being despatched in 1809 to the West coast of the Malay Peninsula with the expedition that was to relieve Junkceylon, also wrote a Nirās on the trip, surviving to this day under the title of โคตร นิราศ พระยาตรัง. Though covering a wider area than the above, it nevertheless knocks off the itinerary at Lēm Sai near C'haiyā, from which district the author very likely set out overland across the Malay Peninsula.

Thus Junkceylon Island twice came well nigh within being sung by Siāmesse bards, and only the third time succeeded in winning a place in the national poetry.

prisoners, together with Lim Hoi, to Bāngkok. Here the letter was translated, when it proved to be an instigation of the Burmese to the Kedah rāja to rebel. The King suitably rewarded Lim-hoi, and appointed him Lúang Rāja—Capitan (หลวง ราช กะ ปีตัน), chief collector of royalty in kind on tin-mines for Junkceylon Island. This appointment evidently included not only the tin-smelting monopoly, already existing from the last quarter of the eighteenth century (see above, pp. 39, 55), but also the collection of crown dues on the net produce (*supra*, pp. 26-27).

CAPTAIN LOW'S VISIT : 1824.

Turning now from Siānese to European records, we meet with very useful information on Junkceylon in various publications by Captain (afterwards Colonel) James Low who visited the island and its interior in 1824. Being a diligent investigator of antiquities, as well as a proficient student of the Siānese language, he was able to gather interesting particulars that had escaped the attention of his predecessors. I regret not having access to his paper published on the subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1835¹; and can only refer to his other articles in *Asiatic Researches* and in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

The one from the former of the two last named magazines has been republished in "Essays relating to Indo-China,"² and the following are the principal points touched upon.

"Most of the small islands lying betwixt Trang and Junkceylon seem for the greatest part composed of granite. It prevails in the latter island, and here again tin appears in proximity to or interspersed in it and its débris.

"A range of hills, the highest of which I believe will not be found to exceed one thousand feet, stretches longitudinally through the island, with one large break in the middle. The island was probably once joined to the mainland, since the Papra [Pāk P'hrah,

1. Vol. II, part II: "History of Tenasserim," pp. 248 *et seqq.*

2. Or, "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China," vol. I; London 1886. The observations concerning Junkceylon occur on pp. 184-185. The volume of the *Asiatic Researches* where the paper originally appeared is vol. XVIII, 1833.

have been discovered on that island; viz. a *Rāetīn* [Roi-tīn, รอยตีน], as it is termed by the Siamese, or impression of a dog's foot, together with an image of that animal, which is reported to have once existed upon a rock at the northern point of the island, and which are said to be held in veneration by the Malays along the opposite coast; who, notwithstanding their conversion to a purer and more orthodox Mahommedanism than is now professed throughout most parts of India, are yet wedded to many obscure and unexplained remnants of their ancient superstitions. The modern Siamese however do not regard them.

“No opportunity of visiting the spot, when on Junkceylon in 1824, occurred to me: nor, indeed, is it of much consequence, while we are sure that there exists a belief that such figures, or objects, were once venerated there. Some credit may be attached to the account, because Dr. Leyden, while treating of the *Anamite* religion, remarks that ‘many local and peculiar superstitions are blended with it, such as the worship of the dog and the tiger; traces of which are to be found amongst the mountaineers on the borders of India, as well as in the countries of China Proper.’ ”

The words that Colonel Low read *Suwanna Malike* are, correctly, *Suvaṇṇamālīkē*, but other versions have *Suvaṇṇamālī-giri*. *Suvarṇa-mālī*, *Suvaṇṇa-mālī*, or *Sālmali* was, as I have elsewhere pointed out, the classical *Indū* name for the Malay Peninsula. In a Pāli sūtra on the five footprints alleged to have been left by the Buddha, which is preserved in *Siām*, it is stated that the first one was stamped somewhere on the territory of *Suvaṇṇa-mālī*, and a second was impressed on the top of the *Suvaṇṇa-pabbata-giri*, i. e. the “Golden Mountain” which is located in the province of *Tenasserim*.¹ Other versions have *Suvaṇṇa-mālī* and *Suvaṇṇa-mālī-giri*.

1. The sūtra in question, which forms part of a formula recited in adoration of the Buddha, is of the following tenor: “*Suvaṇṇamālīkē, Suvaṇṇapabbate, Sumanakūṭe, Yonakapure, Nammadāya-nadiyā: pañcapādavaram thānam, aham vandāmi dūrato.*” [From afar I pay reverence to the Five Noble Footprints that are extant on *Suvaṇṇamālī* (or *Suvaṇṇamālīka*), on *Suvaṇṇapabbata* (the Gold Mount), on *Sumanakūṭa* (Adam's Peak), in the *Yonaka* country (land of the Ionians, locally identified with the principality of *C'hieng-Mai*), and on the bank of the *Narmadā* river (the *Nerbudda* in India)].

The Ceyloners, on the other hand, preserve intact the original tradition as to the footprints in question having been left on the sands near the mouth of the Narmadā (Nerbuddā) river, and on the Sacca-bandha rock, respectively, both in the Western part of India. And it is not unlikely that the footprint in the Ionian country is the very one mentioned by Fa-hien in circa A. D. 400 as extant in Udyāna (now Swat), north of the Punjab. It is a far cry from thence to Chheng-Mai. As regards the impression of Buddha's foot alleged to exist on Suravvhamāli territory, however, I adhere to the views expressed above.

In Appendix No. IV to his “Grammar of the Thai or Siamese Language”—the pioneer work published on the subject¹—Captain Low reproduces as a “Specimen of the Epistolary Style” a letter he had received from the Junkceylon authorities some years before, while on official duty at Penang. The document in question—although from a literary point of view it may be said to pass muster merely as a specimen of *Thai-Nok* epistolary effusions—proves to be of peculiar interest for the present inquiry from the fact that it gives in its exordium the titles (if not, unfortunately, the personal names) of the official then governing Junkceylon Island as well as the neighbouring Districts, and of his son who is the writer of it. The latter describes himself, in fact, as “P’hrah Boriraks P’hūthorn, the son of the Hon. P’hrayā Narong Rüang Riddhi Prasiddhi Songkhrām, Governor of Thalāng [P’hrayā Thalāng], who has come out to look after the welfare of the people in Thalāng, Bāng Khli, Takūathūng, Takūa Pā, and the rest of the Eight Districts.”² The letter is dated Monday, the 4th waning of the 9th Moon, year of the Monkey and 6th of the decennial cycle=13th August 1824.

From the fact that the Governor in question is therein described as having “come out” to take charge of the island, we must conclude that he cannot have been a locally born official, but must have been sent out from the capital. Hence we think ourselves justified in identifying him with Governor Buñ-khong (พระ ยา ถาง บุญ คง) of whom a notice will appear further on.

The title P’hrayā Narong Rüang Riddhi for Thalāng governors persisted, it may be observed, until 1902, when the last

1. Calcutta, 1828; p. 83.

2. “พระ บริรักษ์ ภูธร, บุตร ท่าน พระ ยา ณรงค์ เรื่องฤทธิ ประสิทธิ สงคราม, พระยา ถาง, ผู้ ออก มา สำ เร็จ กิจ สุข ทุกข์ หนา ประชา ราษฎร ณเมืองถาง, บาง คดี, ตกั้ว ทุ่ง, ตะ กั้วป่า, ทั้ง แปร หัก เมือง” — The document is also remarkable from the fact that therein the name of the P’hang-ngā district is spelled P’hū-ngā (Bhū-ngā), ภูงา, after the Malay (or may be the older?) form.

quite in Junkceylon, for notices of the island grow scarce and uneventful during the next fifty years, while I know of no new European account of the island having appeared in the interval. The last piece of information the report of 1841 copiously quoted above supplies us is, that some time prior to this date (perhaps between 1820-1830) a new governor, Buñ-khong, บุญ คง by name, was sent out—presumably from Bāngkok to Thalāng. He induced many people to settle about the western terminus of the tin road across the Peninsula, from Marūi onwards till Bāng Tōi, บ้าง เตย When P'hyā Krai-kôsa went out to collect the arrears of paddy-dues and field taxes (ทางเข้าค่านา), the Thalāng governor aforesaid objected—though in vain—to such imposts being exacted from the people that had settled along the tin road, as these had been exempted from them since the time of Chāu P'hrayā Surindr-rājā.

The Bāngkok Annals of the Third Reign (1824-1851) contain but one single reference to Junkceylon, and that under the date of 1839. By royal decree of the 18th April of that year¹ P'hrayā Srī P'hip'hat had been charged with clearing away all opium from the Siāmesese provinces on the Malay Peninsula, as the introduction of that baneful drug into the Kingdom had been severely prohibited, and the then reigning sovereign was resolved to do his utmost in order to prevent his subjects from acquiring the habit of using it. Pursuant to that decree, towards the end of April Chamūn Rājāmāt and two other officials left Bāngkok as assistant commissioners and proceeded to the districts on the Malay Peninsula and Junkceylon Island. They succeeded in confiscating over 3700 chests of raw and 2 piculs of boiled opium which, being brought to Bāngkok, was all burnt by order of the King in the royal palace, in front of the Suddhaya-svarga throne hall.

NAI MĪ'S POETICAL ACCOUNT OF JUNKCEYLON ISLAND.

At about this period, Junkceylon island succeeded at last in enticing a bard to sing its attractions in the person of Nāi Mī,

1. A translation of this decree has been reproduced in John Bowring's work, vol. II, pp. 368-377. It, however, originally appeared in print on April 27th from the A. B. C. F. M. Press, 9000 copies being issued; and was the first government document ever printed.

นาย ไม้, the favourite pupil of Sunthorn P'hū,—the prince of modern Siamese melodramatic poets,—although considerably behind in excellence to his master.

Nāi Mī took the Buddhist orders of Sāmaṇera (Novice or Deacon) in the Jetavana (Wat P'hô) monastery in Bāngkok during the third reign (A. D. 1824-1851), and it was while thus ordained that he undertook, in the company of some relatives and laic friends, the trip to the island which he has recorded in rhyme. He unfortunately does not tell us anything about the date of this journey, except that it extended between the year of the Hog and that of the Tiger, which may correspond, respectively, either to 1839 and 1842, or 1851 and 1854. The former couple of dates is seemingly the correct one; for, after having returned, he composed a story in octonary verse titled *คัง พระกรรม*, and this—his principal work though now almost forgotten,—is said to have been completed by him towards the end of the 3rd reign or the beginning of the 4th (i. e. about 1851) when he had already undergone the full ordination of a *Bhikkhu* (พระ) which cannot be conferred until after one has completed his twentieth year of age. Later on Nāi Mī left holy orders and ultimately got the post of Lúang Subhamātrā, หลวงสุภ มาตรา as a provincial petty official at C'haināth where he died about 1870.¹

Nāi Mī's account of his pilgrimage to Junkceylon,—termed Nirās C'halāng, นิราศ จันทง, and dimly recalling Childe Harold's immensely superior lay utterances—is the only work of his likely to be handed down to posterity. Though not ranking very highly as a literary production, it nevertheless holds a distinguished place among the curiosities of Siamese Nirās literature and forms interesting reading as evidenced by the several reprints it had.²

1. One of his daughters P'hayom, พย้อม, by name, became minor wife to Chāu P'hyā Narāratn; she was born in the early sixties. Nāi Mī died aged about fifty-five years; so his life-span may be put down roughly between 1820-25 and 1870-75. He was a native of Thā Sūng, ท่าสูง, at Khung Taphau, ขุ้ตตะ เภา, a short distance up-stream from C'haināth.

2. It was first published by the Rev. S. J. Smith's press in about 1874. The edition made use of in these pages bears the date R. S. 113=A. D. 1894-5, and fills 40 pages small 8vo.

1. **The Journey.**—Nāi Mī travelled down the Gulf of Siām in a sailing boat, skirting its West coast, putting in at various places, and finally entering the Bān-Don river. Here the party procured paddle boats which enabled them to ascend that stream for another four days as far as Pāk Pʰanom (พำพนม, or ปากพนม). Thence they journeyed overland to the West coast of the Malay Peninsula by the route we have described in the foregoing pages. Our author's account of this route is the only detailed one on record and forms a most interesting feature of his poem; hence we think worth the while to summarize it here, before passing on to his remarks on Junkceylon Island.

Having set out from Bān-Don in four paddle boats, Nāi Mī's party proceeded up stream to the place called Thā Khām, ท้าขำ, the "Ford," so named from its being the point at which the Bān-Don river is crossed by the land route wending along the East coast of the Malay Peninsula.¹ Here our author notices an awful whirlpool, and adds that though the place be called "The Crossing," no one is seen to avail himself of this convenience. Apparently the ford already had become impracticable by this period, or fallen into

1. Mr. Leal, in his notes of travel in these parts in 1825, applies the name Thā-khām to the Bān-Don river which he describes as broad and rapid. He says: "...the Tha-kham, near the mouth of which is situated the town of Phoon-phin [P'hūn-p'hin, พูนพิณ]...A branch runs to the southward, to the town of Bandon, where it opens into the sea, and whence it is usually termed the Bandon river. The northern branch of the Tha-kham empties itself into the sea, at a place called Tha-thong [Thā-thong, ท้าทอง, now Kāñchanadīth; this is a mistake: it is the south-eastern branch that flows to Thā-thong]...The Tha-kham proceeds nearly across the Peninsula," etc. (See reprint in Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 394). The correct name of the river is Khlong Thā P'hnom, except for the branch flowing to Bān-Don where it is more generally known as แม่น้ำบ้านดอน, *i. e.* Bān-Don river. The crossing or ford of Thā-khām was availed of in 1779 by P'hyā Tāk, who crossed here with his army while marching to the conquest of Ligor whose forces he defeated immediately beyond at Thā-Māk, ท้าமாக (see *Annals of Siām*, p. 539). Hence, the river was still easily passable at this point in his time.

Pulling further up river, the attention of the party is attracted to an abandoned Buddhist temple on the left hand side, among the debris of which stands a large statue of Buddha of about one wa's (2 metres) lap-width.¹ The place lies now desert, shrouded in thick jungle.

At the end of another two days' paddling up stream, a hamlet is reached called Nam-rok-khau, မုံၵုံၵျီၵျီ, "Mountain-encircling Brook," the crowning feature of which is a large Buddhist monastery of rather untidy appearance, as both the uposatha (chapel) and vihāra (idol-house) have thatched roofs.

After that the stream winds through lonely jungle interspersed with towering damar trees: the river is still pretty deep,

already mentioned in the annals of Ayudhya under the date of 1498 (p. 32) where—at its intersection with the Praves creek,—another crocodile shrine stood and probably still exists. Whence the name of Hta Takhe, မုံၵျီၵျီ (in official parlance, မုံၵျီၵျီ, 'Crocodile Head') to the junction, and the appellation of the creek itself. Several other places in Siam bear the same name, doubtless for similar reasons.

Mr. Annandale noticed in the course of his visit to the Siamese provinces down the Malay Peninsula that, "In Lampang [P'hatalung] the brother of the raja has set up a little shrine in which crocodiles' skulls are exposed upon a platform. Fishermen who go out upon the lake in stormy weather are said to pray before these to the guardian spirit of the crocodiles. The raja's brother is a very old man, but he is a noted slayer of crocodiles and a great magician, having once possessed a magic knife of potency..." (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, vol. XVI, 1900, p. 521). The author here thinks himself justified in drawing, from such practices, the inference that the Buddhism practised in P'hatalung "shows a curious tendency... towards animal worship." But as it will now be seen from the evidence we have brought forth above, the obliteration of crocodile skulls to the *genius loci*, is a time-honoured custom spread all over the country—at any rate wherever the ravages of the saurians extend. It is part of the primeval religion of the land, and as such deserves further study at the hands of folklorists; hence it is to be hoped that these preliminary notes may serve to draw attention to this so far neglected subject.

1. The width of statues in a sitting posture is measured from knee to knee, and termed Na Tak, မုံၵျီၵျီ, "lap-width." No use to look for such a class of expressions in lexicographical works purporting to teach "Siamese" to the unwary foreigner.

but very tortuous. Early next morning the landscape changes to a less wild country with dwellings along the river banks, and the party reaches Wat Thăm, ^๑วัดถ้ำ, the Cave Monastery, perched on a delightful spot at the foot of the hills. Our author visits both the temple and the cave near by, whose walls are covered with ancient fresco paintings in lively colours and gold, representing Jātakas, *i. e.* Buddhist Birth-stories. After a stroll round the mount P'hū-kháu Lúang, ^๒ภูหลวง, the poet regains his boat at noon.

Wat Khong ^๑วัดทอง, the "Gong Monastery" is next passed where, our author pointedly remarks, no gong whatever is in evidence, but only the winding river and all-pervading jungle. Shallows are frequently met, over which the boat requires to be hauled. Whenever next reaching a deep pool, his companions are afraid of mermaids, and so betake themselves to the safer course of walking along the river banks, where they ramble about collecting herbs or shooting. They also do not mind taking frequent nips at flasks of spirituous liquor they have thoughtfully brought with them, which wicked acts make our sentimental traveller shudder and despair as to the future salvation of his mates.

At the end of a further 1½ days the party comes to a village lurking in the midst of thick jungle. It bears the honoured name of Bān P'hruh Sēng, ^๑บ้านพระแสง, the "Sacred Weapon," but the neighbourhood is haunted by tigers in plenty.

The journey is continued partly by paddling and poling, and at last Thā P'hanom, ^๑ท่าแพน, the "Hill Landing-place" is reached. This lies encased between hills at the confluent of two tributaries of the Thā P'hnom or Bān-Don river, and forms the terminus of the journey by water on this slope. The provisions and baggage are transferred on to pack-elephants, mounting which pachiderms our author and part of his companions continue their voyage by land, taking a south-western direction.

Thùng Khā, ^๑ทุ่งกา, the "Lālang grass Clearing," forming the end of the first stage, is reached at night. Here, by the

1. See pp. 64, 65, and 70 above.

2. *Vide supra*, p. 70.

margin of a brook (the right upper branch of the Thā P'hnom river) rises a *śālā* or resting shed. No grassy patch is to be seen, but only jungle; hence the toponym turns out to be a misnomer. On the right-hand side a shrine to the tutelary deity of the woods confronts the view, at which every traveller either way is expected to pay obeisance and make oblations of fowls and ducks so as to impetrate a prosperous journey and successful escape from danger, especially from the claws of the tigers that infest those parts. He who neglects such ceremonial is, of course, doomed to meet with accidents. Having dutifully gone through their worship the party accommodate themselves in the *śālā*, round which they keep a fire lit all the night through. Rhinoceros' roars are heard at various intervals issuing from the gloomy recesses of the jungle.

Next morning the party resume the journey, and after three days' marching across the woods come in sight of the "Swan-hen Mountain," Khāu Nāng Hóng, (นกเขานางหงส์).¹ Descending along the western slopes of this range, Junkceylon Island looms to view in the distance, and is reached after a while.

This last portion of the journey is dealt with in a mere few words and all mention of places met *en route* skipped over, so that the unwary reader gathers the impression that it was exceedingly short, and that the travellers got to the island on elephant's back, as no crossing over by boat is hinted at. It is not impossible that the party actually forded Pāk-P'hrah Strait which, as we have seen, in one place at least appears to be practicable to elephants (see pp. 47-48 above); but this is unlikely in view of the circuitous journey entailed for one proceeding to the island from Pāk-Lāu or P'hang-ngā. In conclusion, a few more particulars as to the route followed, would have been expected and welcome here.

Next follows the account of the author's sojourn in Junkceylon. This we take the liberty of subjoining *in extenso*, both because of its falling within the immediate scope of this paper, and of its affording at the same time an example as to the style of treatment of subjects usually followed in Siamese Nirās literature.

1. *Vide supra*, p. 70.

2. Account of the author's stay and doings in Junkceylon¹
—“We reached Junkceylon Island late in the afternoon, just before dark, and set about preparing our quarters *pêle-mêle* at Wat Thāi Nam-P'hang, วัดท้ายน้ำ พัง, by the river bank. Here we dwelt in comfort and good health for many a month.

“I took frequent strolls sight-seeing about the city and environs, which both pale in comparison with a large town. The governor's house looks more dignified than the citizen's dwellings, and rises in a walled enclosure surrounded by a ditch and boasting of stately gates. Hills encompass the city both on the front and rear; the country is intersected by high mountain ranges, whose towering peaks seem to threaten the clouds and form a charming view. The river flows broad and deep through the midst of the town; junks from all parts of the world come hither to trade and ride at anchor downstream: their sails are seen in unbroken succession. They bring every kind of merchandise with which they keep the place abundantly supplied.

“In town well-being and gaiety are the rule. The merchant shops and bazaars on shore hustle and encroach upon one another. Tin is bartered for dollars, commodities are hawked all round. Siānese, Chinese, Malay, Java (mostly from Sumatra) piece-goods retailers heap up flowered chintzes in piles or in long rows; some sell coloured silk fabrics of different kinds.

“The islanders of C'halāng love to dress tidily and tastefully. Handsomely built damsels are in evidence; but, awe-struck, I dare not glance upon them. For I am deeply afraid of their subtle philtres and craftily concocted charms that so easily lead to perdition.² I prefer to refrain from all intercourse or meddling with them, as I think this would bring shame upon myself.

1. Especially translated from the นิราศเมือง, pp. 32-40 of R. S. 113 (=A. D. 1894) edition.

2. Women from the southern provinces of Siām on the Malay Peninsula are reputed to be exceedingly skilful in the preparation of love philtres and charms: hence their occult craft is much feared by people from the capital and other northern districts.

Besides, of all the girls I have had occasion to see here, none can compare with the apex of my love. The local beauties chatter in the quaint jargon of country people¹: and their argot is not always easily understood. The youngsters from the central provinces² that I have brought along with me managed to get on far better with them, with whom some of them became attached.

1. ชาว นอก, C'hāu Nok=people from the outlying provinces of the Kingdom: in this case meaning the inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. The line of demarcation between the C'hāu Nāi, ชาว ใน, or people from the Inner Provinces and the C'hāu Nok is formed, on the Malay Peninsula, by the Three Hundred Peaks or Sām-rōi Yot, สามร้อยยอด, range which virtually separates continental from peninsular Siām. As far as this line the language spoken is practically that of the capital, *i. e.* Standard Siānese; whereas beyond that it abruptly changes into the southern dialect, distinguished from standard Siānese not only by an admixture of heterogeneous words (mostly a survival of aboriginal and primeval settler's idioms), but also by peculiar tonal inflexions which deserve the earnest attention of philologists. This is the Bhāṣā C'hāu Nok, ภาษาชาว นอก, typified in the Ligor dialect, which draws such roars of laughter when put in the mouth of actors and puppets at the theatricals and shadow plays of the Siānese capital and neighbouring districts.

2. ชาว ใน, C'hāu Nai=People from the Inner provinces, including the capital and surrounding districts of Siām proper, where standard Siānese is spoken. This term of Chāu Nai, or Thai Nai, ไทย ใน, has given rise to endless confusion at the hands of ill-informed writers on things Siānese. Dr. Leyden first made the acquaintance with the pitfall when he taunted F. Buchanan for having "*Tai-nay* [Thai-nai, ไทย ใน] instead of the *Tai-noë* [Thai-noi, ไทย น้อย] of La Loubère, which signifies little Siamese; whereas *Tai-nay* cannot possibly signify little Siamese, but only chief Siamese; the true meaning of *nay* being chief or head." ("On the Languages and Lit. of the Indo-Chinese Nations," repr. in "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China," 1st series, vol. I, p. 141). Of course, Dr. Leyden was unaware that the correct prototype of *Thai-nay* is Thai-nai, ไทย ใน, meaning "Inner Siānese"; and not Thai-nāi, ไทย นาย, an expression that not only

C'halāng women are, in fact, exceedingly clever talkers: they excel in the art of charming the ear and netting partners. Once they make love to a lad, it is done with him: he is inextricably inveigled. Such is the fate that overtook many youngsters from the central provinces. As to myself, however, I kept faithful to my darling—just in the same way as one who having embraced [the noble doctrines of] Buddhism clings fast to them, and does not care any further for [absurd] Brahmanic tenets.¹

never existed, but that carries no sense. In vain Captain (afterwards Colonel) Low tried to put things right in the introduction to his grammar ("A Grammar of the T'hai, or Siamese Language"; Calcutta, 1828) where (p. 7) he drew a line of distinction between the expressions Thai Noi, ไทยน้อย, or Little Thai, Lesser Siām; and Thai Nai, ไทยใน, Inner Thai, Central Siām. The muddle continued, as a matter of course, kept in full swing by those writers of books on Siām who—and they are the majority—innocent of first-hand acquired knowledge of the country,—perpetrate patch-work which is a mere dish-clout of the effusions of their predecessors. Thus it comes to pass that in full 1905, writers are still found who—though having earned distinction in other fields—tell us, like, *e. g.*, Mr. Archibald Little in his latest book "The Far East," that: "The early Siamese were more particularly distinguished as the *Thai Noi* or 'Inside Free' [*sic*], in contrast with the Shan who were known as the *Thai Yai* or 'Outside Free' [*sic*] (Chinese, *Wai* and *Nei*)."—It goes without saying that Noi means as much 'Inside' as Yai means 'Outside.' The correct terms are Nai, ใน = 'Inner,' Chinese *Nei*, meaning the C'hāu Nai or people from the Inner Provinces (Central Siām); and Nok, นอก = 'Outer,' Chinese *Wai*, meaning the C'hāu Nok, or people from the Outer Provinces (specifically, the Malay Peninsula). Thai Noi, ไทยน้อย, 'Lesser Thai' are the minor branch of the Thai nation represented to this day by the Siānese and including both Thai-nai and Thai-nok or C'hāu-nai and C'hāu-nok; whereas the Thai Yai, 'Greater Thai,' are the major branch, represented to this day by the so-called Shāns (correctly Siāms or Siānese) of Burma. But it is perhaps useless to correct mistakes like the above, as contemporary amateurish writers of books and articles on Siām—who never read, as a rule, scholarly publications but only antiquated and superficial clap-trap,—will always continue undaunted to foist *rechauffé* yarns upon a too benevolent public.

1. *I. e.* one whose heart has been smitten with a refined woman from the central provinces, does not care for the agrestic attractions of rural beauties.

“ I stayed at Junkceylon overyear, without any incident, firm in self-denial and abstinence like the Buddha when he overcame the hosts of Māra [the demons of temptation]. I bore on with a sorrowful, anxious heart, from the 2nd month of the year of the Hog until the year of the Tiger [*i. e.*, presumably, from December 1839 to April 1842]. My companions, seeing me so deeply sunk in gloom, sought to procure me some distraction by a visit to the sea coast.

3.—Excursion to the Sacred Foot-print.—“ It is related that an impression of the Sacred Foot exists on the wide sandy beach, but the journey thereto is rather long. Nevertheless I longed to pay my respects to it; and accordingly we left in pursuance of our hearts’ desire, taking the track wending towards the west.¹ We had to make our way through forests of lofty trees, to ford rivulets and cross pools in the very midst of the forest. At night we rested in the wilderness. After two days’ journey we came to an open stretch of grass and paddy fields irrigated by water-courses. The track skirts the edge of a vast lake looking like a miniature sea and teeming both with crocodiles and many kinds of fish. Lotuses stud the water expanse with their blossoms of varied hues: white, blue, yellow, red, and green. The lovely sight filled me with delight and admiration, and I amused myself in pointing them out to my companions as I tramped along. Noisy gusts of wind raised and whirled about clouds of dust. The cart-trail winds through a perfectly even plain; only fan palms in close array limit the view.

“ After proceeding for a while we came to a hamlet. It rises on the site of an ancient but now abandoned town, left in ruins by the Burmese. It is now a heap of débris shrouded in jungle. Only a few widely scattered habitations peep out of the foliage.

1. The real direction taken must have been about south-west or south, unless the party took the track leading to the west coast of the island viā Bān C’hāi-thale, บ้านทรายทอง, and then proceeded to the southern extremity of the island by the track running along the west coast; which seems unlikely. The probability is that the route followed was at first about that of the road now leading to P’huket, and then the trail branching thence to C’halong Bay and continuing along the sea-shore till the southern extremity of the island.

The people are thriving and cheerful: they cultivate orchards and paddy fields, plant various kinds of yams and vegetables, large pumpkins, cucumbers and watermelons sweet, sugar cane and sugars palms, as well as orange-trees bearing excellent fruits. I gazed on all these things with deep interest while proceeding.¹

“Beyond the village I came upon the sea-shore, and walked along the beach over the sand banks. I contemplated meanwhile the majestic expanse: it was deep and merrily noisy, with its foaming surges relentlessly breaking on the shore, so vehemently as to cause the sandbanks, the rocks, and the land all round to quake. I listened to the mighty roar of the surf which made my heart shudder with awe. The ocean stretches before the view boundless and fathomless, and teems with aquatic animals of every kind. Some deftly pop up and plunge down again with clamorous splashes. Crocodiles, Herās,² spring up side by side in flocks out of the billows. Water snakes and mermaids dart forth, in a swinging zig-zag gait, to disport themselves with their mates or swim past by

1. I presume it is here a question of the partly cultivated plain round C'halong Bay (Khelung of our exhilarating cartographers), stretching from the banks of Mūdong creek (คลอง มุดง) to C'halong village (บ้านคลอง) and further to the southwest. The city destroyed by the Burmese rose probably on or about the site of the present C'halong village by the side of Khlong Rēng-sóng (คลอง แร่ง ส่อง). This part of the island is famed for its water melons, and the late C. W. Kynnersley, in the course of his last visit he paid to the place in 1903, remarks of Kathū (กะทู้? misprinted *Naito* in his Notes), a thriving mining village not far northward from C'halong Bay, that “*Naito* is famous for its water melons which are sent to Penang” (“Notes of Visits to Puket,” etc., in the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R. A. S.*, No. 42, Jan. 1905, p. 9).

2. Herā, เหยรา, is a web-footed water lizard, smaller in size than the water monitor, but bigger than the terrestrial variety of the same (*Varanus*.)

close pairs in unbroken procession. Crabs, shrimps, prawns, and *Makaras* (dragons) wander about wagging their tails among the waves.¹

“By the edge of the beach stretch smooth, flat banks of pure, crystalline sand; on the right hand side runs a fringe of *Casuarina* trees. Intermingled with the gravel and sand of the shore are shells of divers brilliant hues, blended in the most curious manner. One sees cowries of various sizes, white, yellow and of other tinges strewn about in hundreds of millions; many of them are quaint and lovely to behold in their kaleidoscopic wealth of colours. Some are of a bright red like sapan-wood dye; some black, and others speckled, or streaked with beautifully delineated veins; some are of a vivid yellow like sandal-wood; all charming and worthy of admiration. Nor are there wanting *Saṅkha* (chank) shells of the much prized variety whose whorls wind rightwise.² There is, in short, a superabundance of magnificent things, not least among which are brilliant-white oyster shells treasuring globular pearls. In these waters ambergris is also to be found. Tossed by the waves it is cast ashore up to the top of the broad beach, and while drying it exhales a foul carrion-like stench. But when dried and freed from all impurity it acquires an agreeable perfume, besides turning into a golden yellow resembling amber in appearance.³

1. We may remark, while here engaged on zoological matters, that Junkceylon Island is the acknowledged birth-place of three varieties of terrestrial decapods or fresh water crustaceans, which are:

1. *Potamonautus limula* (Hilgendorf).
2. *Parathelphusa brevicarinata* (Hilgendorf).
3. „ *salangensis* (Ortmann).

But there must be other new species, whether of animals or plants. If we except Dr. Koenig's researches—which should deserve publication—the fauna and flora of the island still remain to be investigated. Here is, no doubt, a promising field for future naturalists.

2. This is the sacred shell used in Brahmanical water-sprinkling ceremonies, and called หอยสังข์ ทักขิณวัญญ์ the ‘Destorse Chank shell.’

3. Here we have a further confirmation of the presence of ambergris about the southern shores of the island, noticed in European accounts of the preceding three centuries. See above, pp. 22 (under date 1592) and 24-25 (d. 1681-85).

"I kept on glancing with interest at all these curiosities while strolling about along the middle of the beach or following the sinuosities of the sea-margin; but felt deeply sad. At the sight of the pebbles and sand glittering like crystal and gold, my thoughts flew to my darling and my heart pained to break. Oh! if my sparkling jewel, splendour and glory of my eyes, had come along with me, how I would delight in pointing out to her the endless charms of the sea (and its shores)! Alas! there is no end of regret at being severed so far apart; when will the time come that I shall be able to return and again behold her lovely form? The ocean stretches before me like an immense wilderness: yea, just like my breast thou art lonely and sad, oh sea!

"Turning my looks landwards of the sandy beach I notice an unbroken fringe of screw-pines whose corymb-clustered blossoms breathe a sweet fragrance. As the sun declines, the wind lulls, the winged tribes set achirping, the screw-pines exhale their perfumed effluvia, of which I am so fond; while a lovely breeze whispers in soft breaths, and the already half-screened sun finally disappears beyond their velarium.

"As to myself, I keep wandering along the right-hand side of the beach without prefixed direction (or purpose), and then wend my steps along the water's edge, straggling ever farther and farther from the inhabited places. On the left the ocean stretches boundless; on the right it's mostly a succession of *Casuarina* trees, tall and superb to behold, whose thick foliage affords shelter from the sun-beams, while the bunches of fruit with which they are laden form a lovely sight. One notices besides in the forest fine types of *Mimusops*, *Murraya exotica*, *Genipa*, *Murraya paniculata*, *Crataeva*, C'humseng (ឥម្ពសង),¹ Chūang (ຈູງ),² Chēng (ແຈງ),³ Marit (ມຣິຕ),⁴ Eagle-wood, *Averrhoa bilimbi*, *Aglaiu Roxburghiana*,

1. Hitherto unidentified; it is employed in Brahmanical rites.

2, 3. I have not yet had an opportunity to identify these: they produce scented wood and presumably belong to the *Aquilaria* or to the *Santaline* groups. Either of them may be, however, *Wikstroemia Candolleana*, or *Cordia fragrantissima*.

4. Unidentified. This tree yields a black and beautifully veined hard-wood, much used in the manufacture of local betel boxes and other knick-knacks. Its name may or may not derive from that of the Mergui district.

Elaeis Guineensis palm, Gum-Kino trees, Kananga, bastard sandal trees,¹ Kôţ Só (โกฏ สอ),² gall-nut trees,³ saffron,⁴ white sandal, unscented white sandal,⁵ *Asafoetida*, *Bauhinia scandens*, Leb-mü Nāng (เล็บมือ นาง),⁶ *Anamirta cocculus*, Incense pines,⁷ *Mantisia saltatoria*, several kinds of zinziberaceae;⁸ and, in short, all sorts of medicinal plants. The flowering trees and shrubs are covered with a wealth of blossoms, and the feathered tribes flock in to peck at them, or flutter askance out of sight.

“There are bright-red Loris looking as if besmeared with vermilion ; peacocks strutting about the sandy beach; cockatoos⁹

1. กระถ้ำ ภา, not identified.

2. See above, p. 39.

3. สมอง ไทย = *Antidesma paniculata* ? ; if not, a *Terminalia*.

4. One must not take such glowing lists of natural wonders *literatim*, for oriental poets, and no less so the Siamese ones, allow their fancy far more play than European bards dare to. More particularly in the sections termed “C’hom nok, c’hom mai,” ชม นก ชม ไม้, practically, “Contemplation of the natural beauties,” they present pictures of the fauna and flora that considerably outdistance the real work of nature. They would sing of pea-fowls perching on the top of trees within a stone’s throw of Bāngkok, or of whales at the Mē-nam bar, and of the most wonderful trees in a miry plain, quite unconcerned whether the reader takes them to task or not. But he does not, as a matter of course, for he is well aware that all this is mere conventionalism and that the poet would be taunted with lack of vein and imagery and his lays pronounced dry-as-dust twaddle were he not to do so.

5. จันทน์คณา, unidentified. *Aquilaria hirta* ?

6. A creeper, unidentified.

7. กายาน, seemingly not meant here for benjoin which is so designated and does not, of course, grow at such a latitude, though present not far lower down on the Sumatran coast and on the southern extreme of the Peninsula.

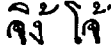
8. ว่าน กระตือ, ไพล, the last of which, a bulbous plant, is extensively employed in the preparation of a tincture for medicinal purposes.

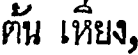
9. The Loris or Nūri of the scarlet variety is indigenous of New Guinea and the Moluccas ; the cockatoos come also from the Archipelago, and their presence in Junkceylon is due to a wild flight...of the imagination of our poet.

and kingfishers leisurely roosted with drooping wings, long-legged plovers walking with a swinging gait, Ching-chô birds¹ alighting on the branches of Vachellia trees or flying out of sight, herons perched side by side in rows on the Casuarinas; brown owls spying into the dark recesses of the shrubbery, and green parakeets resting themselves near by. The winged hosts saunter, hop along; swing and turn about; flutter or hover through the air. Some roost drowsy and motionless on the branches of Hieng trees,² others blessed with female companions keep closely pressed to them absorbed in tender flirtations, or pipe love-strains in the style of feathered tribes; while others still, missing their fair mates, look as mournful as me. Alas! it is a sad, terrible lot to be severed from one's beloved! So I sigh and groan as I proceed.

"The maker of day has plunged into the ocean's bosom; the moon just rising begins to unfold her soft radiance and brightens up the watery expanse and the atmosphere: one hears nothing but the roar of the tossing billows. I continue my journey through the night and see only quadrupeds coming down to frolic on the sea-shore: big hares, wild cattle, deer, wild boars, honey bears, jackals, and stately wild elephants. Their presence strikes me with terror, and shuddering I beseech the protection of the Holy Foot-print on my head. Thus I proceed without incident until the sun re-appears to shine upon the world.

4. The P'hras-Bat.—"At 7 A. M. I reached the sacred Foot-print which lies in the middle of the sandy beach, near the foot of the cliffs. I was now brimming with delight, and all anxiety had suddenly vanished from me. I uplifted my hands in respectful salutation to the lotus-emblazoned foot, and lit incense sticks and tapers which, together with flowers, I offered in worship. Having then poured scented water to wash the holy emblem, I knelt, drew

1.  There must be a bird so called, for the context plainly shows that it cannot be here a question of a kangaroo, also known by this name.

2. , unidentified. It is a large forest tree with hard-wood, which is sawn into planks and employed in carpentry.

near it by walking on my knees, and finally prostrated myself before it, feeling every bit as if I actually were in the presence of the glorious Teacher and Saviour of the World himself. Reverently I stroked all over it, feeling with the hand every symbol engraved thereupon, and carefully scrutinizing each of them. The 108 auspicious marks stood then perfectly distinct to me: the continents of the earth, the abodes of Brahma angels and of Indra, all complete. I beheld represented therein the mountain ranges surrounding the cosmos, the golden mansions of deities, the tiers of heaven, the majestic peaks of Meru towering immense; with the sun, moon, and other planets. I also noticed the four rivers, the Siddantara stream; and Nāgas (serpent-godlings), human beings, Garuḍas, Sūras, Rākṣasas, the Wheel of the Law with its gem-like concentric rings; bows and arrows, birds, Kinnaras, Vijjadharas, maned lions, tigers, elephants, deer and sambur. Everything is portrayed there to a nicety, is skilfully and elegantly delineated; there seems to be an endless, an incalculable number of emblems. The more one gazes upon the holy vestige, the more he finds it magnificent and dazzling, for the crystalline sand that bespangles it causes it to glitter even so glowingly. The specks of transparent sand shine like jewelled lotus flowers, as they cast round the refracted light in radiations of various hues; blue, white and yellow. The surface of the holy footprint thus stands forth in bold relief and its splendour is enhanced many fold by the sparkling crystals, as if it were coated over with burnished gold. All round and away from its margin the sandy beach stretches delightfully level and smooth as if paved with crystal. Enwrapped in all this glory of radiance the cosy spot looks indeed charming. Each and all of my companions prostrated themselves side by side, their heads touching the ground, in adoration.

When the sun had set beyond the horizon, we resolved to hold an *impromptu* festival in honour of the sacred foot-print. Some started dancing in the best style they could boast, the dear fellows, at the sound of tunes creditably played with the natural wind instruments of our mouths; others sat down reciting Sep'hā stories¹ to the accompaniment of clapped sticks;

1. เสภา, the famous and most popular story of the adventures of Khun C'hāng and Khun Phēn (ขุนช้าง, ขุนแผน). Besides being played

in short, every one displayed his talents to the best possible advantage. The whole shore re-echoed with our merry clamour.

Delighted with having thus paid our respects to the holy vestige we tarried a few more days, making at night our bed of the sand banks. Pleasant excursions were organized in the daytime by various groups to divers places roundabout. Some bent on herborizing went forth to collect medicinal plants and tuberous roots of signal efficacy; while others started to fossik for quick-silver of supernatural virtues, for antimony, for magnetic iron, and other kinds of ores.¹ Those who were the fortunate possessors of mystic formularies for the search of treasures, precious metals etc.² set out to carry their directions into practice, and, forsaking the beaten paths, plunged into the recesses of the jungle. Others betook themselves to lay traps and snares, catching birds, mice, boar cubs, or procupines, which they amused themselves to tame and rear up as pets according to their bent. Some again descended to disport themselves into the sea. Upon noticing some big sea-turtle crawling up towards the beach, they would instantly seize it and ride on its back for play just as they would do with an elephant, urging the poor

on the stage, it is not unoften recited on festive occasions with accompaniment and interludes of clappers made of a hard black wood. See for more particulars, my book "Cūḷakantamaṅgala, or The Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siam"; Bangkok, 1895, p. 54.

1. As regards the presence of magnetite on the island we have the testimony of La Loubère, see p. 26 above. With respect to antimony and quick-silver although there is no evidence to hand, it is not unlikely that these metals are also to be found there in small quantities, as well as gold the presence of which we have seen noticed by Gervaise (*supra*, p. 25). In conclusion, there can be no doubt that the island is a most interesting and varied minenary field. As Ceylon is—though for different reasons—the pearl of British insular possessions in the East, so is Junkceylon the most priceless one of the Siāmesse Crown.

2. Such formularies are called Lāi-thēng, ලායි ටිං, a term—of course unknown to our lexicographers,—which is applied to any old MS. document containing directions for finding hidden treasure, alchemistical formulas, recipes for the cure of disease as well as for the prolongation of life, hints as to methods of discovering precious metals, etc. It may be translated "Esoteric Direction," or "Occult prescription." It goes without saying that such old documents—mostly compiled by alchemy-dabbling monks or professional occultists and alchemists,—are much in request and eagerly sought for.

beast to shape a course landwards. But the refractory chelonian would instead turn tail and make for the sea carrying them down into deep water. Then there would burst forth shouts and laughs to paralyze any other action, and the happy lads finding themselves submerged would at last regain control over themselves and gaily return ashore. As to myself, however, I continued in a sad, mournful spirit, for nothing could compensate me for the absence of my beloved one. When our visit to the Holy Foot-print came to an end, we reverently took leave of the sacred vestige and set about to return.

5. **L'Envoi**—"Thus ends the story of my long period of wandering away from my darling, for whom I have written it in order both to make known to her my sentiments and to try my vein. Though a pupil of Sunthorn [the famous poet] I am naught yet but a beginner; so may my raving passion for my beloved arouse in the public sympathy with my sufferings. *Finis.*"—

It will now be seen that only a very limited meed of useful information can be expected from a composition which, like this, is written in the style of a Nirās, *i. e.* with a view more of pouring forth one's love refrain for the respective sweetheart and piping the Odissey of one's real or imaginary sufferings while travelling away from her, than of supplying a gazetteer of the places visited *en route*. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there is, on the whole, a substratum of truth and reality underlying the poet's fantastic effusions, which forms the medium and occasion of transmission for many interesting details that might otherwise remain ignored to history or to scientific literature. It will have been noticed that on more than one point our author either confirms or supplements evidence we have drawn from other sources, especially as regards the productions of Junkceylon island, etc., while he gives us a valuable account of the overland route across the Malay Peninsula. At all events it may perhaps be agreed that the above, from its being the only poetical essay written on C'halāng, is of sufficient curiosity to justify its translation in a paper which, like this, is solely devoted to that interesting island.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF LOPHBURI.

[Through the courtesy of H. R. H. Prince Damrong we are enabled to reprint a translation of the pamphlet on "Lophburi", which was issued by the Prince in 1905, and in which all historical information available was collected.

By reproducing this account it is hoped that, quite apart from its intrinsic value, it will form a fitting introduction to Mr. Giblin's paper, which it expands in that part dealing with the history of Lophburi.]

Lophburi was formerly called Lavo and in the annals of the North it is related that it was founded by King Kalavarnadis or the Black Tissa of Taksila in the Buddhist era 1011 (Ch. E. 468). In the history of Chama Deviwongs giving the history of Haribhunjai it is related that when Muang Haribhunjai (the present Muang Nakhon Lamphun of Monthon Phayab) was built in B. E. 1200 (Ch. E. 654) people asked for Nang Chama Devi the daughter of Phya Chakr (or Emperor of Muang Lavo) to govern Muang Haribhunjai as chief.

If we compare these traditions with archaeological objects still preserved in Lophburi, it may be accepted that Muang Lavo was founded by a chief of a Khom people who established the city about 1400 years ago and it became the capital of the Kings who were Sovereigns of the princes established in the Menam Chao Phya Valley up to the Menam Khong in the North until about B. E. 1500 (Ch. E. 957). Then for some reasons not yet known the power of these Khom Kings gradually got less, and King Sri Dharmatraipitok the "Thai" came down from Chieng Sen and brought the whole of the southern country under his rule and he appointed his son, Chao Kraisararaja, Prince of Lavo. Since that time the Kings governed from either Ayoddhya or Lavo as capital for about one hundred years until King Chand Joti governed in Lavo. He altered the name of the capital into Lophburi and he had to abandon the territory up to Monthon Phayab to Chao Anuruddha and to acknowledge the Sovereignty of Bhukam (Burma). After the death of King Anuruddha the princes of these parts became heads of independent states again in Phayab and Sukhothai, and Muang Lophburi most likely became at that time also independent, as it is stated in the Annals of the North that Phra Nares the son of King Anuruddha went unsuccessfully to war with Phra Narayana the King of Lophburi. There were most likely a number of Kings governing for several generations. It is however stated in the Annals of the North that there was constant warfare, and

the country was deserted or became dependent on some power. When King Uthong founded Sri Ayodhya with the intention of extending his dominions he appointed his son Ramesuen governor of Lophburi, a "Vice-Royal City", and it became an important city as of old in B. E. 1894 (Ch. E. 1351).

Krung Ayodhya however became more powerful and its dominions extended and Vice-Royal cities were established at Muang San, Jainad and finally at Pitsanulok. Muang Lophburi became then a provincial town near the capital to which the Kings repaired for pleasure. In the B. E. 2200 (Ch. E. 1657) the King Narayana made Lophburi his residence during the hot and cold season, but it was only kept as such up to the death of King Narayana, as his successors abandoned it and lived at Ayodhya only.

The city of Lophburi was in ruins for 150 years up to the reign of His Majesty Phra Chom Klao, who had the wish to establish a Royal Residence there. The old palaces were completely ruined, and only one hall the Chandravisal could be restored. His Majesty had therefore buildings re-erected for his own residence ; and he restored the walls and gates, and constructed other buildings, which are kept up to the present time.

LOPBURI PAST AND PRESENT.

Of all the ancient cities within the boundaries of Siam Lopburi, perhaps, presents to the enquirer aspects of greater general interest than any other.

Ayutia, Prapatawin, Nakawn Sritamarat, Sawankalok, Sukotai, Chiangmai and others, will continue to furnish for some time to come, ground for archaeological and historical research, but it may be doubted if any of the places named will ever contribute as much to present day investigation as the ancient city of La-wo, now called Lopburi, and this is so far the following reasons. Leaving out of consideration the history of the immediate past in Siam, that is, the last 126 years, in no other of the numerous capitals or important centres of Siam has there taken place such a meeting, one might almost use the word blending, of two civilisation, that of the East and that of the West. About no other town has so much been recorded by foreigners. No other cities can show at this date as many evidences of the blending referred to above. And lastly, for western investigators, La-wo must always stand out as the scene of one of the most interesting and thrilling pages of Siam's past history, on account of the reign of King Pra Narai, and the great revolution which took place there in 1688, when the Prime Minister, the Greek, Phaulkon, or to give him his Siamese title, Chao Praya Wichayen, met his death, and Pra Petaracha, the Master of the Elephants, came to the throne

With the history of Lopburi up to the time of King Narai this paper does not attempt to deal. It is the desire of the writer merely to endeavour to present a picture of the town and its environs as it must have appeared at the time of that enlightened king, after Phaulkon had made use of his opportunity to add to the well-being and comfort of the inhabitants of the city and when he had in hand the idea of increasing its importance by making it the site of one of two observatories to be erected in Siam. Afterwards will come a short description of Lopburi as it is to-day, with the objects of interest it contains, and which may be seen by any one who may choose to visit the spot and seek out these places for himself.

In his short historical sketch of Lopburi, H. R. H., Prince Damrong has shown that the place was founded about A. D. 468. It is therefore a fairly old centre and has had time to become raised, as most old cities raise themselves above their former levels, but that growth in height has not amounted, as will be shown afterwards, to

tanks and all that needed repairs was put in the very best condition. H. M. enjoyed vastly his residence in the City of Lopburi."

Besides the construction work enumerated above, it is worth noting that so much of his time did the sovereign spend at Lopburi, because of his great liking for residence there, that the name of the place became incorporated in his title. Later on in the same account we read that :

"H. M. then rewarded Praya Wichayen with an ivory sedan to be carried about in and gave him 300 bargemen as his escort to precede and follow him as he went about, and when in audience H. M. allowed him to sit on a cushion 20 inches high. H. M. bestowed on him many valuable presents and marks of distinction. From that time Chao Praya Wichayen's power was more absolute than ever and all his suggestions to H. M. were acceptable."

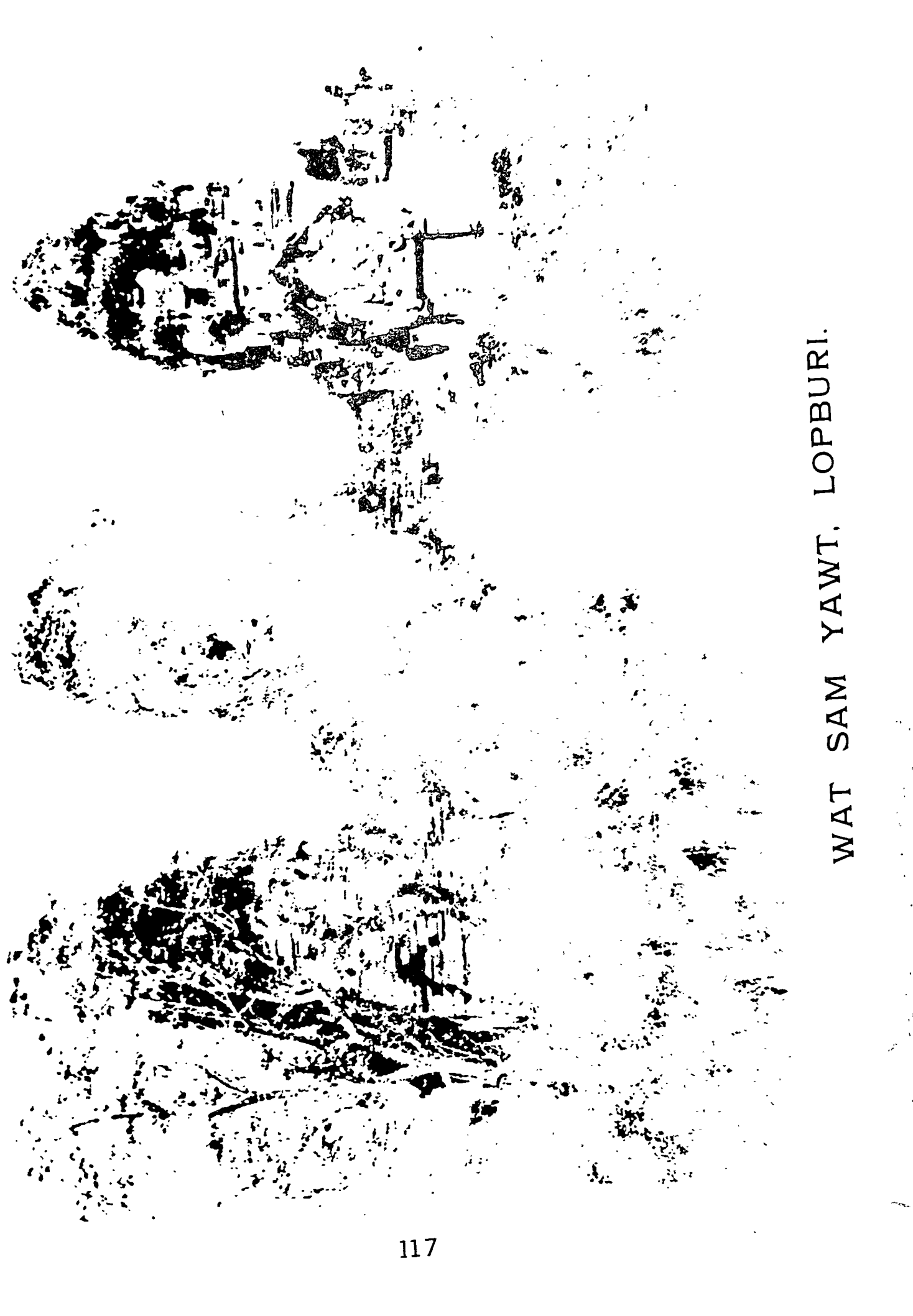
It was, then, to the ancient city of La-wo, with its old temples renovated, with many new buildings, (including the king's palace), in evidence, with a water-supply obtained from a newly constructed reservoir a couple of miles away, that the first French Ambassador to the Court of Siam came in the month of November, 1685.

This ambassador, the Chevalier de Chaumont, was too busily engaged on weighty affairs of state, and on functions and ceremonies and conferences, to have much time for descriptions of places, and in his published relation of his embassy he gives but a short account of Lopburi.

"Louvo where the King of Siam passes nine months of the year, for the enjoyment of hunting Elephants and Tigers, was otherwise an assemblage of Pagodas surrounded by terraces, but this prince has made it incomparably finer by the Buildings which he has erected there and as to the Palace which he has in this place, he has added considerably to its beauty by the waters which he had brought from the Mountains."

It is more interesting to turn to the account given by Père Tachard, one of the six Jesuit mathematicians sent by Louis XIV to Siam and China, who accompanied de Chaumont as far as Siam. Tachard made two voyages to Siam, as he appears to have developed into a kind of sub-ambassador or diplomatic missionary, and his second voyage to the East was made with La Loubere, the Envoy Extraordinary from Louis XIV to King Narai, who travelled from France in 1687 and returned in the following year.

This good father, whose simplicity and ingenuousness and firm faith in the possibility of turning the Siamese nation into Christians, one cannot help admiring, wrote a lengthy account of each of his voyages, and referring to Lawo he states:—



WAT SAM YAWT, LOPBURI.

“Eight days after the King set out again from his Palace with the Princess and all his ladies to go to Louvo. That is a town fifteen or twenty leagues from Ayutia towards the North, where he passes nine or ten months of the year, because he is there more at liberty, and he is not obliged to shut himself up as he is at Ayutia to maintain his subjects in allegiance and reverence.”

* * * *

“The Lord Constance who had seen the letters patent of “mathematicians” which Louis XIV had granted to the six Jesuits, had resolved to accord them a particular audience of the King at Louvo. He sent them notice to present themselves with their instruments. Two large boats were employed to transfer their baggage, with another of 24 rowers for themselves. They set out on 27th. November, 1685.”

* * * *

“The Town of Louvo is in a situation very pleasant and in an air very healthy: its precincts are sufficiently extensive, it is thickly populated because the King makes there a long sojourn. There is an idea of fortifying it, and Monsieur de la Marre, a skilful Engineer, whom the Ambassador has left in Siam, has already drawn up a plan of fortification, which he had to make to render it a place stout and regular. It is situated on an elevation which discloses all the surrounding country, which is commanded on each side, and which is watered by an arm of a big River which passes at the foot. It is true that this River is only considerable during the inundation. But as the inundation and the rains last seven or eight months, the Town can only be besieged on that side, which is besides that, extraordinarily precipitous. The other sides are either swamps which can be easily inundated, or heights made in amphitheatre, which it is proposed to include in the Town, and which serve as deep moats and earth-work ramparts proof against every kind of artillery. They will work on the fortifications of Louvo as soon as they have fortified Bancok, which is a more important place and, as it were, the key of the Kingdom of Siam. These works will soon be accomplished, because an immense number of workmen will be employed and the ground is not difficult to remove.”

* * * *

“The Jesuits had a special audience with the King on the 22nd, of November, and were, as a great mark of distinction, not required to take off their shoes and stockings.”

* * * *

“At a league from Louvo this Prince has built a very roomy Palace. It is surrounded by brick walls fairly high. The interior is made of wood only. The place is very pleasant on account of the natural situation. There is a large stretch of water which makes of it a

peninsula, and on this water the King of Siam has built two frigates with six small pieces of cannon, on which this Prince takes pleasure in going about. Beyond this canal is a forest, 15-20 leagues in extent and full of Elephants, Rhinoceros, Tigers, Deer and Gazelles."

The lengthiest account of Lopburi is given by Nicholas Gervaise, but he has devoted himself chiefly to a description of the palace and grounds. Gervaise was a Frenchman, and seems to have been engaged in commercial pursuits in Siam, having resided there for four years. His work, "Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam," was published in Paris in 1689.

It is of interest to note the different spellings of the Siamese name La-wo. Gervaise has it Louveau, most of the other French writers put it Louvo, in one of the maps published at the time Lauvo is given. One may be forgiven for wondering how, with many foreigners resident in the country and acquainted with its language, a nearer approach to La-wo was not obtained. Gervaise also notes that at the time the Siamese were accustomed to give the place another name, which he spells Nocche-buri. The name Louvo, having once got into the maps, was, I suppose, held to be the best known and therefore the correct version. There is another Siamese name which the writers of the period seem to have stumbled over. The reservoir near Lopburi was known to the inhabitants as Ta-le Chup-sawn. This has been rendered as Thlee-Poussone or Tale Pousson or Tle Poussonne.

Gervaise's account of Lopburi is as follows:—It is somewhat long, as I have stated, but I think it should be given in full.

"Louveau, which the Siamese commonly called Nok-buri, is a town which is, so to speak, in the Kingdom of Siam what Versailles is in France. The Former Kings possessed there a Pleasure house, but it had been abandoned for over a hundred years when the present king rebuilt it.

"This town is situated in a plain which is not subject to inundation, is about half a league in circumference, in plan is almost square, and the enclosed space is merely land provided here and there with some brick bastions. During the high water season of the Country it is almost surrounded with water, at all other times it is watered only by a small arm of the great River, which is not sufficiently deep for big boats. Its situation is so pleasant and the air that one can breathe there so pure, that one never leaves it without regret; its distance from the Capital by the big River is 14 leagues, but by a Canal which the King has lately made, it is only 9 or 10 leagues.

"As this Prince is extremely fond of this place he passes there the greater part of the year, and neglects nothing at all which he

believes may serve for its embellishment. He has had some design for enlarging it, but he has thought proper rather to fortify it in order to make it a Place of defence; the interior is very clean and everything there is well kept up; if one does not see buildings as fine as in the Capital, there are to be found there gardens and promenades which are no less agreeable. All the commodities of life are found there in abundance, but as it is thickly populated, provisions are dearer than in any other Town in the Kingdom; good water only, during 4 or 5 months of the year, when the river is low, is wanting, for Horses and Elephants, which are bathed there, make it so dirty, that it cannot be drunk. At that time recourse is had to wells or to the water stored during the inundation in large earthen jars made expressly to purify it.

"The Palace that the King has recently built on the bank of the River makes a most beautiful ornament; it is not so grand as that at Ayutia, but is more cheerful; it is as well walled in, and its plan is long rather than broad; the part which looks on the Town is divided into three Courts, all different, each having its own beauties; one sees on the right, on just entering, a small hall where the criminals are tried for *leze-Majesté*, and two prisons very nearly the same in size where they are confined until the case is investigated and sentence pronounced.

"On the left is a large reservoir for the supply of water to the whole Palace; it is the work of a Frenchman and of an Italian more successful and more skilful in Hydraulics than several Foreigners who have worked there with the most expert Siamese for ten entire years without having succeeded in anything. The reward which they received from the King was in proportion to the service which they had rendered him, and to the earnest wish which the Prince had always entertained of having water in his Castle.

"Thirty paces from there is a Garden divided into four squares, facing a small Arbour extremely pleasing and as much so from the aspect of several fountains surrounding it as from the proximity of a Pagoda, which, though not extremely fine, nevertheless contributes to the charm of the place; a small grove which fills up the rest of this first court-yard, gives entrance to a second which is incomparably finer, the gate is between two Pavilions, which are intended to accommodate four Elephants of the Second Order, the shape is square; the high walls, which are of a dazzling whiteness, are ornamented with Moorish sculpture, extremely dainty and divided into small compartments, which on certain ceremonial days are ornamented with numbers of China Vases. Two small Halls, very low are at the entry opposite a main Building which has two pavilions on the right, where are accommodated, very much at their ease, Elephants of the First Order; one sees on the left a superb structure, above which rises a Pyramid, closely resembling that which is seen on the Royal Palace of the Capital Town. It is at

one of the windows of the central Structure, which is larger and higher up than the others, that the King gives Audiences to the Ambassadors of neighbouring Princes, During all the time that he is present there they stay in the two small Halls, face bowed to the ground, with all the more select of the Lords of the Court who accompany them. It is not so with the Ambassadors of the Emperor of China and of foremost Sovereigns, for they are conducted ceremoniously to the Audience hall which is under the Pyramid ; this Hall is only three or four toises long, by two wide ; it has three Door-ways, a large one in the centre, and one on each side ; the Walls are hidden with those beautiful Mirrors entrusted to the two Mandarins who came to France four years ago, and the lower end is divided into four equal squares, embellished with gilt flower-work skilfully worked up to date and adorned with certain crystals, which give it the finest effect in the world. At the further end of this hall rises to the height of four or five cubits a truly magnificent Throne ; the King ascends it from behind, without being seen, by steps from a private apartment against which the throne is set. It is there, so it is said, that the Princess Queen, his Daughter, dwells. As it is not permitted to any one to enter there, and as even the Ambassador of France has not been at liberty to view the interior, I can absolve myself from giving here any description of it.

“ A little further off, on descending fifteen or twenty steps is situated the third court-yard, where the apartment of the King is. It consists of a fairly extensive main Building ; gold glistens there from all sides just as in the second court-yard, and as it is covered with yellow glazed tiles of which the colour is very nearly like unto that of gilt, when the Sun is shining, one must have strong eyes to bear the glitter ; it is enclosed by a parapet wall, which has, at its four corners, four great Basins, filled with extremely clear water, in which His Siamese Majesty is accustomed to bathe, under the rich Awnings which cover them ; that one of these Basins which is on the right is near a small artificial Grotto, covered with ever-green shrubs and an infinity of flowers which perfume it at all times ; issuing from it is a limpid Fountain, which distributes its waters to the four Basins.

“ Entry to this Apartment is only permitted to the Pages of the King and to such Lords of the Court who are most in favour with him ; other Mandarins remain at the parapet prostrated towards the great Carpet where the King gives them Audience, leaning on a window from which he can be heard ; other officers stay at the foot of the parapet lying on matting, face to the ground, and sometimes even removed by more than a hundred paces from His Majesty.

“ Around this parapet are buildings of small suitable Chambers, where the Pages are lodged, and the Mandarins who are on guard. And a little further off on the left is a parterre filled with the rarest

and most curious flowers of the Indies, which the King takes pleasure in cultivating with his own hands ; from there is seen a very large Garden which faces the building ; it is planted with large Orange-trees, Lemon-trees, and several other Trees of the Country, so bushy that they give shade and coolness at full mid-day ; the paths are bordered by a little brick wall breast-high, and here and there one sees Lamps of copper gilt, which are carefully lit on those nights when the King is at the Castle, and between two Lanes there is a kind of fire-box or Altar where they burn quantities of pastilles and of scented wood, which spread their perfume far and wide.

“Considering all this can one be astonished if His Siamese Majesty has such a liking for his House-of-pleasure; the ladies also have their extremely fine apartments in a long gallery which runs behind that of the King and of the Princess, from one end of the Court to the other, and this is what makes access so difficult which is even denied to children of the Kings, only the Eunuchs who are in attendance having the freedom to enter there, and it is only by the exterior that one can judge of the interior ; the rough Plan which I have very hastily drawn of it only allows me to give some idea of it, because I was in the company of people who could not give me the leisure to make a better one.”

In La Loubere's account of his mission to Siam, published in Paris in 1691, he refers shortly to Lopburi.

“To Louvo (where it is possible for him to maintain in a lesser degree his dignity as a Monarch) he goes very often, either to hunt tigers or elephants, or to promenade, and he goes with such little display that when he goes from Louvo to his small house at the Tale-Pousson with his Ladies, carriages are not provided for the women servants, such transport being held as a mark of honour.”

* * * *

“At Louvo the waters are still more unwholesome than at Ayutia, for all the river does not pass there, but only an arm, which turns that way, and always runs down after the rains and finally dries up.

“The King of Siam drinks the water from a large reservoir made in the country, which is always guarded. At that place this Prince has a small house called “Tale Poussone”..... a league from Louvo. It is situated on the edge of certain low lying country extending for two or three leagues which receives and conserves rain waters. This little sea is of irregular shape ; its banks are not lined or made out straight, but its waters are wholesome, because they are deep and settled, and I have heard tell also that the King of Siam drinks them.”

* * * *

"The narration of M. de Chaumont was not a success. Father Tachard, a fairly good mathematician but a very bad diplomat, cared only for the propagation of the faith, and accepted as gospel truth all the vain imaginings of Constance. The journal of the Abbe de Choisy, written with a style and fluency, has all the attraction of a romance, and in fact it is nothing else, for M. the Coadjutor of Embassy, who brought himself in four days to a state to receive holy orders at the hands of the Bishop of Metellopolis, Chief of Eastern Missions, was too frivolous and too idle to observe matters well, and too little scrupulous not to adorn his account at the expense of truth. The narration of M. Forbin, which we publish, is much the most interesting and appears to be the more credible."

In an account of Lopburi as it was at that period it would not be right to omit some further reference to that wonderful man, Phaulkon, wonderful whether we regard him as a statesman, adventurer, religious zélot, or an aspirant to the throne. Several accounts of his life have been written, but it will suffice if we take the impressions of his character as given by the last two writers mentioned, both of whom were brought into intimate contact with him. Forbin sums up his character in this wise :—

"We do not know the kind of death which M. Constance suffered. Those who were in Siam during the revolution maintain that he bore all his reverses with true Christian feeling and with a courage really heroic. Notwithstanding all the evil he has done me, I will acknowledge, in all good faith, that I have no difficulty in believing what they have said of him. Mr. Constance had a mind great, noble and exalted: his was a superior nature, and one capable of the highest schemes, which he knew how to guide to their completion with much prudence and wisdom. Fortunate if all these fine qualities had not been obscured by great faults, above all by an excessive ambition, by an insatiable avarice, which was often even sordid, and by a jealousy which, taking offence for the most trivial reasons, made him hard, cruel, pitiless, untrustworthy, and capable of any detestable action."

The Abbe de Choisy wrote of Phaulkon as follows :—

"M. Constance was a man of the world, of good understanding, liberal, magnificent, resolute, full of big ideas; and it may be that he wished to have French troops to try and make himself king on the death of his master, which he saw drawing near. He was haughty, cruel, merciless, and was possessed of an immoderate ambition. He supported the Christian religion because it could strengthen him, and I would never have trusted myself to him in matters in which he was not to make his profit."

Of these two statements one would elect, I think, to take that of M. Forbin as being, in all probability, at once the most credible and that dictated by the greater sense of fairness.

Phaulkon's death at Lophuri is described in a History of M. Constance, written by a Jesuit father.

"They made him mount an elephant and took him well guarded to the Tale-Poussonne. When they had arrived at the place of execution they made him descend to the ground and told him that he must die."

* * * *

"Then an executioner advanced and with a back handed stroke of the sword having cut him in two caused him to fall on his face, dying and heaving a deep sigh, which was the last of his life.

"Thus died in the flower of his years a famous man, at the age of 41 years."

In a description of Lophuri the following extract from Pepys' Diary will not be out of place.—"17th. of August, 1666."

"With Captain Erwin, discoursing about the East Indys, where he hath often been. And among other things, he tells me how the King of Syam seldom goes out without thirty or forty thousand people with him, and not a word spoke, nor a hum or cough in the whole company to be heard. He tells me the punishment frequently there for malefactors, is cutting off the crown of their head, which they do very dexterously, leaving their brains bare, which kills them presently. He told me what I remember he hath once done heretofore; that every body is to lie flat down at the coming by of the king and nobody to look upon him upon pain of death. And that he and his fellows being strangers, were invited to see the sport of taking a wild elephant; and they did only kneel, and look towards the king. Their druggerman did desire them to fall down, for otherwise he should suffer for their contempt of the King. The sport being ended, a messenger comes from the King, which the druggerman thought had been to have taken away his life. But it was to enquire how the strangers liked the sport. The druggerman answered, that they did cry it up to be the best that ever they saw, and that they never heard of any prince so great in every thing as this King. The messenger being gone back, Erwin and his company asked their druggerman what he had said, which he told them. "But why", say they, "would you say that without our leave, it being not true?"—"It makes no matter for that", says he, "I must have said it, or have been hanged, for our King do not live by meat, nor drink, but by having great lyes told him."

It is worth while studying a little a Map or Plan of Lawo, which was made by French officers who were stationed in Lophuri

at the period under discussion. This map is an enlargement from a small scale map which appeared in one of the historical accounts of the period. We see at a glance the manner in which the town, as it existed formerly, was laid out. The King's Palace, the royal gardens, the house of the French Ambassador, the various temples, the house where the Jesuits were lodged and where they took some of their astronomical observations, Phaulkon's garden. The positions of all these places are shown. It is to be noted that at the time the map was made Phaulkon had evidently not yet built his palace, as there is no mention of it in the list given on the map.

From all the foregoing descriptions by visitors to the town we are able to get a very fair idea of Lopburi at the time of King Narai. It is noticeable that everything centres round the court and the person of the king. The books from which quotations have been made show elsewhere that there was very little security for private possessions at that time, that few cared to amass wealth, and that the punishments meted out by the monarch were severe and often degrading. Essentially Lopburi was the summer residence, the holiday resort and resting place of the king, and naturally, therefore, its well-being was influenced by the pronounced predilection he had for passing his time there. Placed by his position so immeasurably above his subjects and endued with such supreme power, it is not surprising that he should leave his mark, in no small degree, on his favourite city.

With a full reservoir and the waterworks in working order, the gardens of the palace might well have deserved the praise bestowed on them by Gervaise, but no one mentions whether the water brought from the reservoir was ever available for the general body of the residents. Gervaise, as we have seen, states that when the water in the river was low, the people had recourse to wells and stored water, so that that it would seem that only residents in the palace benefited by the reservoir.

It will have been noted that frequent references are made to the great amount of hunting indulged in by the ruler of the country and the names of the animals with which the district teemed are given. Judging from the difficulties which big game seekers of the present day experience in securing even a few deer, one cannot help thinking that the large decrease in the number of game might well form a subject for investigation, unless indeed the truth lies in the fact that those who wrote about these large numbers of wild game did so very closely, and were misled in this matter as many comers to a country, have been since then, with their statements not easily verified.

We have now to consider a little the town of Lopburi as it is at the present time. Five hours in the railway train will take us there, so that we escape the arduous boat journey by river formerly necessary. The cadastral survey of the Royal Survey Department furnishes us with a plan of the town and district, and enables us to locate to some extent the places referred to by the old French writers. Besides this a few photographs, which will be thrown on a screen, will give some views of the present condition of the temples renovated in King Narai's time, and of the houses built by Phaulkon, as well as other points of interest.

Behind the railway station and quite close to it stands the Wat Na-pra-tat, which is well worth inspecting, though wandering through this is not always easy, as the jungle grows thickly about the temple and is only occasionally cleared away. I feel sure that if Praya Boran, the High Commissioner of the Province of Krungkiao, could have his way, this wat and every other one worth seeing in his domain, would be fit to be seen with ease throughout the year.

Not far away from Wat Na-pra-tat and quite close to the railway line, the most interesting building in Lopburi is to be seen. This is Wat Sam Yawt or Prang Sam Yawt and it is somewhat curious that none of the French writers seem to have noticed it particularly. The main building is supposed to have been built when La-wo formed part of the Khmen kingdom, the headquarters of which were at Angkaw. At any rate the ancient part, which is cyclopean and of stone, is of the same style as Wat Angkaw. Tacked on to this fine old monument of early Cambodian art there is to be seen a modern brick building, fortunately in an advanced state of ruin, and likely, as time goes on to dissociate itself more and more from the stately pile that has weathered the centuries so much better. It will be noted from the photograph how little the style of this brick construction is in keeping with the other, and the form of the arch would seem to place its date of erection at the time of King Narai.

Mr. P. A. Thompson, in his work on Southern Siam-Lotus Land-wrote of this wat as follows :--

"The most interesting remains at Lopburi date from the earlier period of its history. The railway runs right through the old town, and just beyond the station there stood for many years a dense thicket. Unsuspected among the trees lay buried an ancient temple, but the trees have now been cut down, and the old stonework freed from the clinging embrace of the creepers. The temple is of the Hindu type, and was built during the supremacy of the Cambodians in Southern Siam. It is in fact identical in style with the sanctuaries which are found farther east, in Cambodia itself. It consists of three small cubical chambers, entered through low square doorways, and surmounted

by blunt spires-possibly dedicated to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The chambers are connected by short covered galleries. All this lower part is built of fair-sized blocks of laterite, laid upon each other without cement, whilst the lintels and door-jambs are sandstone monoliths, beautifully fitted. The galleries and chambers are roofed in with great slabs of laterite which project one beyond another, and the upper courses of the spires are overlaid with cement.

"Whatever may have been the original dedication of the temple it was at some early date converted to Buddhist uses, for the galleries are full of life-size images of the Buddha, very finely carved in sandstone and with sevenfold hooded cobras rising fan-like behind their heads."

Nearly opposite to and across the railway line from Wat Sam Yawt, that is to say, on the east side of the line, there is another wat which is worth a visit, chiefly, however, as affording an elevated position from which to view its larger and more important neighbour.

Passing on towards the river we come to the remains of Constantin Phaulkon's house. It is difficult to reconstruct from these the manner in which the house was arranged when in its finished state, but there can be little doubt, judging by the evidences to be seen there, that one of the apartments formed a private chapel, that in which, as the Jesuit fathers narrate, the prime minister, his household and co-religionists were accustomed to worship. Tachard refers to this chapel and states that it was consecrated by the Bishop of Metellapolis under the name of "Our Lady of Loretto." It is worth noting that the form of the windows of this house have influenced the construction of the adjacent building, which is of quite recent date.

We are told in the Tam-nam Muang Lophuri, already referred to, that after King Narai's time, the city was in ruins for 150 years up to the reign of H. M. Pra Chawm Klao, who had the wish to establish a royal residence there. The old palaces were completely ruined, and only one hall, the Chantara-pisan, could be restored. His Majesty therefore had buildings erected for his own residence, restored the walls and gates and constructed other buildings which are kept to the present time. We can therefore revisit the hall of audience where the French ambassadors were received; of the gardens, which filled so important a part of the earlier picture, nothing now remains, but it is well worth while to wander round the walls and court yard, even as they are now, to try, with some effort of the imagination, it is true, to depict for ourselves the scenes as they must have presented themselves to the earlier visitors. Some of the fountains, canals and bathing places are still to be seen, but the ever flowing waters from the reservoir and the carefully kept flower beds are sadly wanted to assist us in our task. Nevertheless, for those who have the opportunity to do so, the thing is worth a trial.

Making now a short excursion into the country, less than a league will take us to the Tale Chup-sawn, the reservoir built by King Narai. Reference to a map made up by sheets of the cadastral survey will show just how this small artificial lake is situated with regard to the town. It must be remembered that to the east the ground slopes upwards to form a low range of hills running north and south. These hills, with the somewhat striking and jagged peaks of the hills near Prabat, may be seen from the northern railway line. The reservoir is enclosed by a heavy earth embankment, nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ miles long. This bank is about 12 to 13 feet high, and the area available for the storage of water is roughly one square mile. Mr. Irwin is of opinion that the probable depth of water, when the tank was full, came to not less than nine feet and a half, deeper in some places and less in others.

A line of levels run from the old reservoir to the palace shows, as was stated earlier in this paper, that the city proper of Lopburi is not particularly elevated. The floor of the reservoir near the southwestern corner and the palace grounds are about on the same level and the beds of two of the old fountains of which the remains are still to be seen are raised above the ordinary ground level. It is probable, in Mr. Irwin's opinion, that the water intended for these fountains and for the bathing places in the royal gardens was pumped up to some elevated cistern in the palace grounds, being distributed about the various ornamental receptacles.

Within the reservoir and near the western embankment on a small elevated piece of ground stand the ruins of the King's country residence. It was here he took part in the observation of an eclipse of the moon, recorded by Father Tachard.

Near the south-west corner of the reservoir there are two water gates, which can be seen at the present time. From these the water was led in open channels to a settling-tank, Sa-ra-kao, whence when purified it flowed through earthenware pipes to the palace. There is another sluice-gate to the north, but it is uncertain whether this was used merely as an overflow or was an opening into a channel leading to the city by another route. There is indeed, in connection with this old engineering work, plenty of room for further investigation, and who can tell that in the near future, such further investigation, conducted perhaps with the object in view, may not demonstrate the feasibility and desirability of once more setting the channels flowing for the benefit of the population, at present small, but soon certainly to be far greater, of the ancient city of La-wo.

In conclusion I beg to return my best thanks to our President, Dr. Frankfurter, for his assistance and advice, and for the loan of most of the books consulted ; also to Mr. A. J. Irwin, who conducted the cadastral survey of the district and to whom I am indebted for much of information about the old water works of La-wo.

PHAULKON'S HOUSE AT LOPBURI

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON, M. A.

No study of Franco-Siamese relations during the xviii century is complete that ignores the imposing brick ruins at Lopburi in which a large part of the negotiations between the French Envoys and Paulkon, P'ra Narai's Greek Adviser, took place.

The Palace has been described elsewhere. The ruins known as Phaulkon's house, which lie a short distance to the North of it, were carefully examined by the writer in 1932, and a ground plan was made of them, with the assistance of the Cadastral Survey, for purposes of comparison with the xviii century French plan already published.

As a preface to the consideration of these plans a few observations are offered concerning the career of Phaulkon.

A manuscript in the Archives of the Missions Etrangères at Rue du Bac in Paris purports to give the truth concerning Phaulkon's antecedents.

According to this manuscript, which is confirmed by Dutch and English records, Phaulkon left his home at Argostoli in the island of Cephalonia at an early age, and became a seaman in the service of the English East India Company⁽¹⁾. In the year 1678, when he was about thirty years of age, he first came to Siam with the Company's Agent, Burnaby, when the latter was despatched from Bantam in Java to revive English trade in Siam.

Phaulkon was employed by Burnaby on this business for two years. In 1680, with Burnaby's approval, he was engaged by the P'ra K'lang, (Siamese Minister of the Treasury) who controlled the activities of foreign traders in the country. At about the same time Constantine Phaulkon, commonly known as Constant or "Conse" by the English, and "Constance" by the French, was converted to Catholicism by a Portuguese Jesuit, and married a half-caste Japanese woman.

In less than two years, Phaulkon had made himself indispensable to the Minister, P'ya Kosa, and received the title of Luang Wichayen. On the Minister's death in 1682, he became virtual controller of

(1) His family were *Gerakis*, which means "falcon" in Greek. Phaulkon is a hellenised version of this word used by him. The English styled him Faulcon.

Siam's foreign trade, and attracted the notice of King P'ra Narai, at the time when the latter was seeking an alliance with France to counterbalance Dutch pretensions in the Far East.

For six years, from 1682 to 1688, Phaulkon enjoyed the King's confidence; he exercised almost unlimited power, and was rewarded with the highest title of Chao P'ya. He was nevertheless a foreigner, and was unpopular.

The question arises—can he have been the owner of the palatial buildings at Lopburi, whose ruins still perpetuate his name; especially since no other remains of private as opposed to royal or sacred buildings of equal antiquity are to be found in Siam.

Before answering this question it will be necessary to examine the ruins in detail with the aid of the modern plan and of a copy of the old French plan.

Some 200 yards beyond the northern wall of the Palace, and in a direct line with the Palace Gate, known as Pratu Wichayen, lies a pile of brick ruins enclosed within walls which on the south and west sides are well preserved and are some 8 feet high.

The area so enclosed is a rhomboid, measuring roughly 90 metres on the north side, 100 metres on the south, 67 on the west, and 75 on the east. The orientation of the main building is S. S. W.

The ground plan shows a general lack of symmetry in the whole lay-out, suggestive of hasty or patchy design: for instance, several granite slabs are found among the bricks of the stairways.

The front (southern) wall is pierced by three Gates, the centre one of which is surmounted by a pointed Gable, but the two lateral gates each by a rounded arch.

The three gates correspond with the three main sections of the Ruins, which are separated into three Courts by the walls (K. L.)⁽¹⁾. There are signs that these walls were originally uniform in height with the outer walls. They divide the ground between the outer south wall and the ruins into a central, an eastern and a western court.

CENTRAL SECTION.

The Central Court is traversed by a paved way running between low brick walls, intersecting a narrow lawn, and leading from the gabled entrance gate to the foot of an imposing flight of brick steps,

⁽¹⁾ The flanking walls of the Court contain well-preserved niches for lamps 15 inches apart and 4 feet from the ground.



Two photographs by P'ra Prakas Sahakôn showing lotus
decoration over chapel doors.

PHAULKON'S HOUSE AT LOPBURI

42 feet wide, which projects towards the path in an ellipse. At the top of the steps is another narrow grass plot, enclosed on the east and west side by the walls of buildings. In its centre is a rectangular Ruin (c), $12' \times 18'$, consisting of two walls on north and south side, each about 15 feet high, which contain and overhang a saddle-shaped mass of bricks which rises in the centre and resembles the roof of a vault. The north wall shows traces of a window frame about 10 feet from the ground.

This ruin is commonly known as the Bell Tower, but there are no signs in the walls of holes for a Beam for suspending the Bells, which must have been hung, if at all, from the now vanished roof.

Behind stands the Chapel, approached by semi-circular steps up to the three main Doors in the North, South, and West walls. Above both North and South Doors is the remains of a low Tower, with traces of a winding stair in both towers.

The Chapel is a single apartment, narrow and massive, measuring about 50 feet \times 18 feet. It is lit by three windows on the north wall and three on the south, each about $3\frac{1}{2}' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'$ and by a square window above both north and south door, giving on to the towers.

The lighting on the East and West walls consists of a merlon-shaped opening in both gables near the top, and by a rose window in the centre of the West wall. The Eastern wall, below the gable, has no window.

The floor is still paved with about 50% of the original red hexagonal tiles. East of the Towers is a brick dais in which there are remains of marble. The dais spans the Nave to a depth of six feet, rising $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the floor level. At its East end are the Brick foundations of an Altar, $5' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$. Between the Altar and the East wall of the Chapel is a passage six feet wide connecting a narrow door in the north wall with a similar one in the south wall.

The Masonry of the outer Mouldings of the windows and doors is decorated with Lotus design such as is commonly seen on the doorways of Siamese Temples. Prince Damrong considers this design to be a proof that the Chapel was not erected by Phaulkon for his private use, since it is unlikely that a foreigner in Siam would have been permitted to apply this form of ornament to his own Christian Chapel. In any case, it is probably the only Christian Church in the world decorated in Buddhist style.

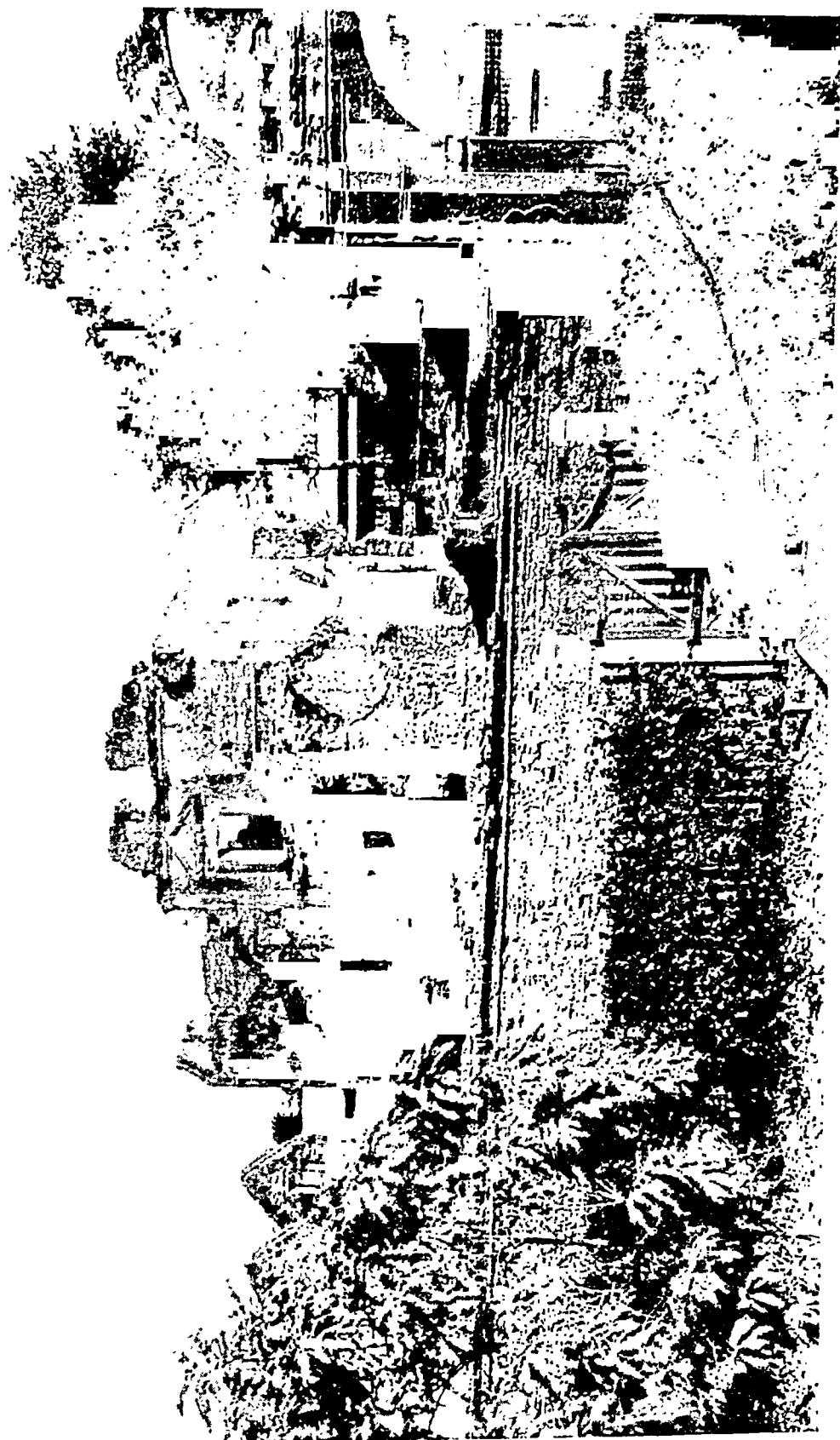
Photographs presented by P'm Prakas Sahakón illustrate the exterior decorations of the northern wall.



View from Eastern court looking West.

In foreground, steps leading to site of great Hall, (H. on plan). Beyond the steps, the living room R. W. on west side of Hall.

In background, the two narrow gabled buildings (b) (c) in western court.



Central view as seen from house across the road.

On extreme right: Entrance gate leading to site of great Hall (H.) in centre; living rooms R. W. with chapel behind.

On extreme left: Narrow gabled building (c) in western section.

Between both plots and the outer Southern Wall are corresponding, but smaller plots, which connect by a couple of steps at the end of walls ('T. T.') with the small elevated Courts in front of the projecting buildings (f) and (g).

The platform above the grand stairway extends into a pavement of noble dimensions, roughly $63' \times 33'$, which probably formed the floor of a great Hall of Ceremony, now totally destroyed (H).

The walls ('T. T.') are conterminous with the walls no longer existing of the Hall of Ceremony; they formed the sides of two long narrow gable-roofed buildings, which have been destroyed like the Hall. These two buildings (f) and (g) together with the great stairway leading to the Hall enclosed three sides of the Entrance Court, and projected from the main alignment. Access to them was obtained by a small semicircular brick stairway from each of the two small elevated Courts on either side of the South end of the Entrance Court. Although the dimensions of (f) and (g) were approximately the same, their ground plan was far from identical, since (g) is filled up with the foundations of four small rooms, and a flanking passage; (f) however appears to have consisted of a single big room.

A narrow passageway outside the Eastern Wing leads through a gap in the wall (which doubtless contained a gate) to the adjoining building, called in the French Plan "House of the P'ra Kláng", the site of which has recently been cleared, revealing an immense platform now devoid of foundation walls, and numerous foundation walls of small buildings on the east and north sides.

The blocks RE, RW, each consist of a ground floor and a first floor room $19' \times 33'$. In both cases they are separated from the great Hall by a small walled Courtyard, which in the West Block (RW) contains an outside stairway leading to the first floor room.

The corresponding room in the East Block (RE) was reached by a spacious indoor staircase, the outline of which can be seen on the walls at the East end of (J).

(J) is a long, narrow Annex, parallel with and adjoining the northern wall of the Hall, and overlapping a portion of the north walls of (RE) and (RW). It may have served for offices behind the Hall, as well as covered way between (RE) and (RW) and the Central Court.

The ground behind (J) is honeycombed with the foundations of small buildings, presumably retainers' quarters.

A reference to the ground plan reveals the fact that the Chapel is in better alignment with the Eastern than with the Western section;

and an examination of the ruins shows that the Chapel and Eastern Section are more solidly built than the rest of the ruins.

These observations suggest the conclusion that the Chapel and Eastern Section represent the original Buildings constructed by P'ra Narai's orders for the reception of Ambassador de Chaumont and his staff. The French map of Lopburi, made at that time, supports this theory, which is furthermore reinforced by Prince Damrong's comments on the ornamentation of the Chapel windows.

In the French map, the site of the ruins is described as "The residence of the French Ambassador" (D), and the western boundary wall is shown close to the west end of the Chapel. The ground beyond that boundary is shown as a Buddhist Temple, which must have been acquired in order to construct the western part of the present ruins, since the latter extend almost to the City wall. Phaulkon's house (T) is shown outside the City wall.

It is possible that after the departure of de Chaumont's Embassy, Phaulkon built the Western Section for himself and for the twelve Jesuits who came out in 1687 as well as for the six left behind by de Chaumont. The two parallel narrow gabled buildings (b) and (c) are more suggestive of friars' cells than of lay habitations.

As mentioned above, the building on the East side of the Ruins is marked as the "P'ra Klang's" House.

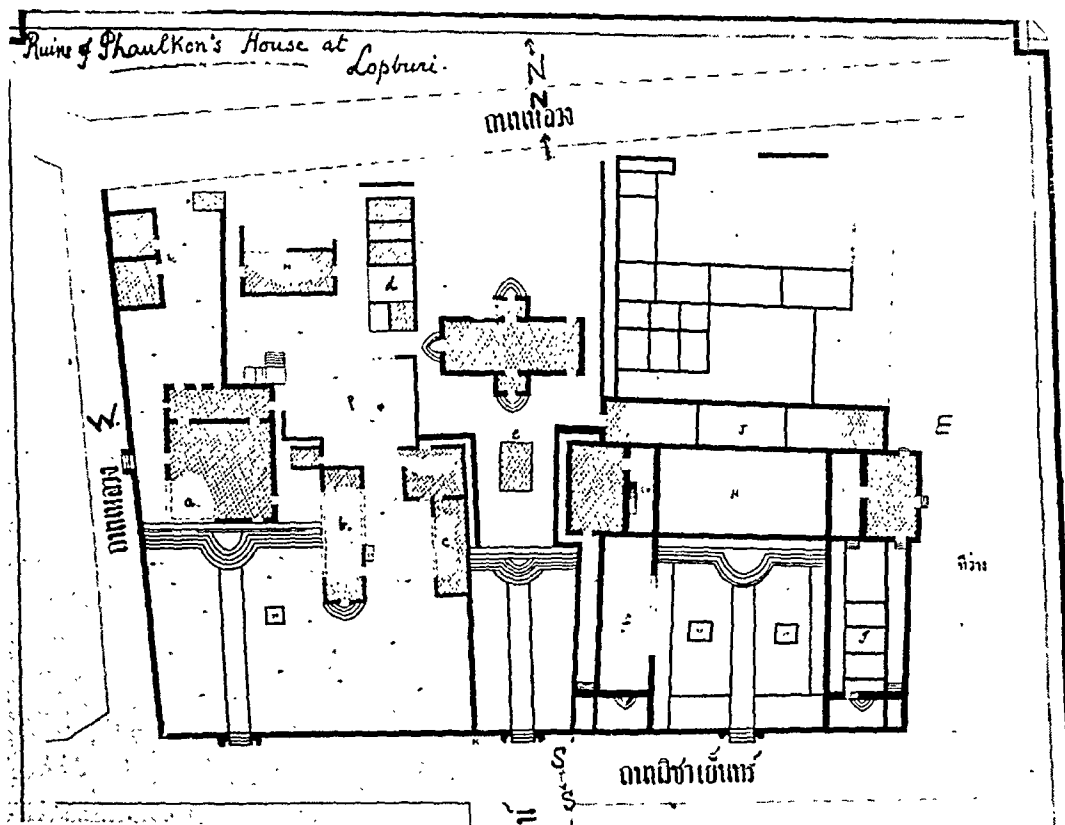
The Royal Gardens (G) occupied the present site of the Co-operative Department Buildings—separated from the Palace (A) by a line of Royal Stables (K).

Nothing now remains of the French Mission (F), or of the populous quarter on the island (Q) opposite to the Market (S) which is still in that part of the town.

Phaulkon's house and garden (T) lie beyond the N.-E. end of the Moat, parallel with the Jesuit Astronomers' Observation Tower (P), a ruin now known as San Polo. This quarter is now very sparsely populated and contains no vestiges of Phaulkon's garden.

Its place however on the French map far away from the ruins now known as Phaulkon's house may be taken as evidence that at the time when the map was made Phaulkon resided far away from the Palace; also that the eastern and central portion of the site now known as Phaulkon's house contained apartments which were built for the reception of the French Ambassador.

It is incredible that a foreigner in the Siamese service could have been permitted to build so magnificent a palace for himself, while the



Plan of Phaulkon's House at Lopburi made by a Cadastral Surveyor,
June 1932.

Central Court

- e. So-called Bell Tower with Chapel behind
- K.L. Flanking walls, dividing this court from the Eastern and Western Sections.

Western Section

- a. The Big House, of flimsy construction
- b. c. Narrow rectangular gabled buildings, suggestive of Friars' cells.
- d. Bath - Latrine (?), Dressing room (?), Courtyard (d) cistern.
- p. Walled garden.
- m. n. o. Outhouses: probably kitchen and stables.

Eastern Section

- T. T. Ruined walls of narrow gable-roofed building F.G. on either side of garden plots.
- F. G. Narrow gable-roofed buildings flanking the garden plots.
- H. Great Hall of ceremony.
- RW. } Small walled courtyards dividing great Hall at west and east
- RE. } ends from ground floor and first floor living rooms, 19' x 33'.
- J. Long narrow annex behind Hall, divided into three apartments.

PHAULKON'S HOUSE AT LOPBURI

Siamese grandees were content with less permanent houses. When however de Chaumont and his suite had departed, leaving behind five out of the six Jesuit Astronomers who came out with him, some of these Jesuits may have remained behind to serve the chapel.

It is possible that then Phaulkon may have acquired the Temple land at the West end and built some of the more fragile edifices in the Western Court for his own use, in order to be nearer to the Palace than in his original house outside the Moat.

Chiengmai, 1933.

first source, an inscription in the east Vihara of the standing Buddha, dated B. E. 2331¹ (1789 of the Christian era), is responsible for the early history of the Wat. It relates that in that year "His righteous Majesty, Ramadhipati, reigning in Krungdeb, perceiving that the old monastery of Bodhārām was in a state of ruin", decided to restore it. After three years occupied in filling in the ground, the actual work of restoration began in earnest and lasted nine years. More than a thousand fine images of the Buddha lying in neglect in the provinces were removed from the North and set up here in various places. It appears from this inscription that the monastery was planned on the whole on the same scale as we find it today.² The monastery was provided with 66 men who were paid certain sums of money as keepers and entrusted with the care of the buildings and grounds. The chief keeper and his assistant received minor ranks in the nobility to ensure their official and social standing. The restoration in reality took the form of constructing new buildings on the old site, as practically nothing of the old monastery remained. In 1801, the work being completed, His Majesty celebrated the event in the customary way but on a grand scale, and renamed the monastery Wat Phra Jetubon after the famous Jetavana pleasance of Anāthapindikā at Srāvastī. The King poured water on the hand of the main image in the presence of an assembly of the incumbent monks as an act of handing over what he had rebuilt for them, presented them with gifts, and customary food which he and his Court personally served, and distributed alms to the people and provided general entertainments and fire-works. The features of the celebrations were very much on the same lines as one finds today in merit-making and dedications, but there were two features of interest, the casting abroad of coupons by which one could claim sums ranging from 2 to 5 catties

1. Doubtless a slip. It should have been 2332. The slip was perhaps due to a confusion with the final figure of the civil era which was C.S. 1151.

2. Detailed description of the plan of the monastery as it existed in 1822 is to be found in Crawford's *Embassy to Siam & Cochin-China*, vol. I, pp. 163-167.

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(160 to 400 bahts) from the Privy Purse and also of limes containing small coins. These two items totalled 40,480 bahts and were distributed as alms for the redemption of the King's family and chattels. It may be as well to explain that the motive of this act was the idea that the King dedicated his all to the people in honour of the monastery and then redeemed it by the above process. The concluding passage of the inscription is rather interesting. It states: "In undertaking to restore the monastery and in fitly dedicating it, His Majesty has not been actuated by a wish for reward (in future lives) such as Universal sovereignty or even heavenly joys, but by an aspiration to arrive at full and complete Knowledge whereby human beings will be restored from the wheel of misery.....". In fact the King dedicated his all not in exchange for the realisation of his personal ambition but rather that he might attain the knowledge which would be then used for the good of the people. This historical evidence is comforting to hear. Siamese monarchs after all seemed to have thought of and worked traditionally for the welfare of their subjects before their own!

Our second source of information, dated B. E. 2351 (1808), exists in print and may be found in the *Vajirañāṇ* magazine. It is not stated how the magazine obtained the record. This record being written in a style similar to the inscription referred to above, it has been thought by the Royal Institute that it was the draft, intended for inscription on a parallel tablet to the first in the same Vihara where a stone slab had already been set in the wall as yet without any writing. The date of this record being only some ten months before the demise of King Rama I, it has been suggested that the written record might have been delayed until it was too late to submit the draft to the King for his approval and finally given up. The gist of this draft is the miraculous discovery in Nan of some holy relics which were presented to the King and their due inclusion in places of honour in the monastery.

Our third and most detailed source of information was written in January B. E. 2388 (1845) as a record in verse by a contem-

porary poet and scholar, His Royal Highness Krom Kun Nujit Jinoros who was afterwards promoted Patriarch, and assumed the rank and title of Krom Somdech Phra Paramanujit. It brings us down to the second restoration by Rama III, whence we get the encyclopaedic part and the bulk of our inscriptions. It states that the King, on his annual state visit in 1831 to present the Kathin, went over the whole grounds and noticing that many of the buildings were in ruins, ordered their restoration. The main features of this second restoration were: the enlargement of the main chapel (the Uposatha), the fashioning of the image of the Reclining Buddha on the site of a former palace which was then made over to the Monastery, the erection of two of the three big pagodas directly west of the central enclosure of the Uposatha, the restoration and enlargement of the residential quarters for the priests, a general repair and many minor additions, and finally new mural decorations and paintings with the encyclopaedic inscriptions in explanation of them. The work of building additional cells for the priests as well as rebuilding the old ones began in 1832. In 1835 the restoration proper was commenced. The poetical narrative, which the author finished writing in 1845, does not mention the completion of this restoration. The history however of the third reign by Chao Phya Dibakarawongs, as yet unpublished, tells us that the restoration was not completed till 1848, three years after this narrative. This of course explains the meagre information in this narrative about the last important building of the whole group, the Vihara of the Reclining Buddha. The poet seemed to have been fully aware of the main features of this Vihara and actually mentioned that detailed specifications of the work of restoration were to be found inscribed in that presumably unfinished Vihara as will be seen later. The history, above mentioned, went on to say that the King fitly dedicated the work in the same year, features of which seemed to have been parallel to the dedication of the first restoration.

Let us now take a general survey of the precincts reiterating at the same time the individual features of this restoration in conformity with the poetical narrative. The monastery may be

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spoken of as being divided into two sections, the dividing line being identical with the present Jetubon road. North of the road is the main section wherein are situated all our points of interest. The southern section is mainly residential. It contains the comparatively ornate and spacious residence and office of the above mentioned Prince priest, the modern Pali school with a few other minor buildings which contain short inscriptions of a self-explanatory character. The whole area is chiefly made up of priestly cells quite simple in aspect and in strict keeping with their monastic character, and will not therefore be treated of here.

Reverting again to the northern section, the most important building though perhaps not the one best known to the public is the Bot or Uposatha, standing inside a walled enclosure directly facing east. The enclosure itself contained four Viharas or chapels facing the four cardinal points so that any one entering by whichever side will come upon one of these chapels before getting to the main building, the Bot or Uposatha. An Uposatha is the assembly hall of the holy Brotherhood wherein take place all their formal meetings and the more important ceremonies. A part of the remains of Rama I. collected from the crematory pyre was buried in this Bot, and it has been the custom for every monarch entering this building to pay respect to the memory of the Founder of the Dynasty. This main chapel was raised and enlarged in this restoration. On the walls between the windows were painted biographies of 41 eminent disciples of the Buddha with inscriptions in explanation thereof. The biographies were compiled from Buddhaghosha's commentary of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*. Hereunder is given a specimen of the biographic inscriptions of the Uposatha :

“It is stated in the *Manorathapūranī*, commentary of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, first chapter, in the section relating to the Venerable Koṇḍañña thus: Formerly Koṇḍañña the Brahman lived at the Brahman village of Donavatthu near Kapilavastu. He was well versed in the three Vedas and in the nature of devotions. When the Buddha was born, his royal father assembled 108 Brahmans and

duly feasted them. Eight among them, experts in the understanding of human nature, were asked to try and see what the royal baby would become on attaining to manhood. Seven were of the opinion that he would grow up to be a universal sovereign but, should he decide upon an ascetic life, he would become the discoverer of Salvation, i.e., the Buddha. Kōṇḍañña, however, predicted Buddhahood without any alternative. Later on Kōṇḍañña lived to be the sole survivor of the eight, and with four sons took up ascetic life when the Prince, the future Buddha, did so, trying to discover the truth. When the Prince became the Buddha, he preached his first sermon laying down the Wheel of the Law to Kōṇḍañña who with his four sons attained Arahātship. He was considered eminent for becoming the first Arahāt."

Above the windows will be found the birth story of Mahosatha, while higher up next to the lofty roof are the usual representations of Hindu cosmology as modified and adopted by later Buddhism. Inlays of mother of pearl on the doors represent episodes from the Ramakirtī, while at their backs are printed specimens of all grades of honorific fans presented as tokens of hierarchical rank by the sovereign to the holy Brothers. The backs of the wooden panes of the windows were inscribed with the seals and names of the dignitaries of the Buddhist Church, indicating that in those days it was divided into two jurisdictions. The northern one was placed under an abbot of Somdech rank in Bangkok, including all territories approximately north of Bangkok. All territory bordering on the Gulf of Siam both east and west as well as the Malay Peninsula was under the southern jurisdiction, the head of which was also of a similar rank and resident in Bangkok. The Metropolitan Church was divided among the two jurisdictions. The external panes were carved and gilded with conventional designs, and at their lower extremities are pictorial representations of nursery rhymes many of which, however, are still to be identified.

In taking leave of this central chapel, mention must also be made of the bas-reliefs depicting scenes from the Ramakirtī on the

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balustrades around it, each bearing an explanatory inscription in verse by contemporary poets including Prince Kraisara Vijit and Luangnai Jan Bhubes. The former was then head of the Department of Public Instruction and was in general charge of the work of restoration. His grandson was also Minister of Public Instruction under King Chulalongkorn, and an elder brother of the present Chao Phya Abhai Raja. Luangnai Jan Bhubes was a poet of some merit, his verses representing different metres, mentioned further on, being well known and popular.

We will now turn to the four Viharas forming part of the enclosure of the Uposatha. Of the four, the east one being in front was originally the larger, having besides the main chapel opening outside of the enclosure, an inner one back to back with it. King Rama III., however, provided inner chapels to each of the other three and therefore all four are now identical. In the east Vihara the front chapel facing east contains an image, brought down by Rama I. from Svargalok, of the Buddha sitting under the Bodhi tree. The subject of the mural decoration is the quest of the Prince Siddhartha after truth, the temptation and vanquishment of Mara culminating in his attainment of knowledge under the Bodhi tree in consonance with the incident of the image. According to Crawford (*ibid.* cf. Note 4), however, "The paper-hangings represented the war of the Ramayana." Crawford was probably misled by the figure of Mara, who is often represented in Siamese art by the identical physiognomy of Rāvana. There does not seem to exist any explanatory inscription, the subject being of course familiar to all. In the chapel at the back of the eastern Vihara, besides the historical inscription mentioned above, there is an image of the standing Buddha from Ayudhya some ten metres in height. There are inscriptions explaining the mural paintings which depict the ten stages of decay of the dead body, a subject for meditation. The ten Knowledges (*ñāṇa*) are also portrayed. Concrete representations of these have been taken from the conventional instances as taught in priestly schools of meditation. The theme of the paintings b

Rama I.'s restoration. The following are examples of these two sets of inscriptions:

Stages of decay:—

“ 1. Uddhumātaka, meaning a dead body in a gaseous condition looking as if pumped up with air, thereby becoming most repulsive to look upon;

“ 2. Vinīlaka, meaning a dead body over which a state of putrefaction has set in, parts are black, red and white;” etc., etc.

The Knowledges:—

“ 3. Bhaṅgānupassanāñāṇa, the knowledge arising out of a contemplation of annihilation. The stock instance is that of a man who contemplating a broken piece of pottery can see nothing but its eventual breaking up from an entity; another instance is that of a man who standing on a river bank and looking at drops of rains falling thereon can see the drops causing ripples as they come into contact with the river and then disappear.”

In the south Vihara King Rama I. originally set up an old image of the Buddha from Ayudhya in the attitude of preaching the first sermon to the five original disciples. Another image, however, known as Phra Jinaraj was brought down from Sukhodaya and set up in its stead some years later, and in it was buried a part of the holy relics from Nan as recorded in our second source of information. The walls of this Vihara were decorated with paintings depicting the same occasion as well as the Buddha's preaching a sermon to his mother in the heavens, a figurative way of expressing the state of spiritual knowledge to which she had attained. Crawford says here: “The paper-hangings represented Gautama preaching to the assembled deities of the Hindoo Pantheon.” Rama III. restored this Vihara in accord with the original plan and added a back chapel which was adorned with mural paintings depicting incidents contained in the Stanzas of Victory, inscriptions in explanation of which were set up; and here is a specimen of them:

“ In this section are depicted stories from the commentary

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of the 'Bāhuṇ stanzas', the first verse of which is:

Bāhuṇ saḥassamabhinimmitasāvudhaṇ

referring to that episode of victory from the Pathom Sombodhi (the standard Siamese version of the life of the Buddha) in which the Buddha, seated beneath the Bodhi tree, vanquished Vassavati the Mara King and his army and then attained enlightenment, becoming the Buddha."

These Stanzas of Victory, believed to have been composed in Ceylon, are rather popular and are always chanted in a morning service of benediction. They consist of eight stanzas of Pali verse, each stanza referring to an incident of the Buddha's victories over evil, invoking in each stanza the Buddha's power to bestow a similar victory, with an additional stanza detailing the good result that would accrue to one repeating them from day to day.

The west Vihara, where King Rama I. set up first a seated image from Lobpuri in the attitude of being protected from rain by the Nāga king (a characteristic attitude of the Khmer art of Lobpuri), and subsequently replaced it by the more famous Phra Jinasih, brought down from Sukhodaya together with the Phra Jinaraj of the southern Vihara. The Jinasih image shared equal honours in every respect with the Jinaraj, including the burial of holy relics. The mural painting represented the story of the hair relics of the Buddha. Crawford, not being able to understand its purport, described what he saw rather graphically thus: "The representations . . . sketched of the modern city of Bangkok. The river is shown, with Chinese junks and European shipping; and among the most prominent figures are several Europeans, in the grotesque costume of the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries." To understand the mistake one need only to go to any chapel where there is painting, such as in Wat Jetubon itself, in order to see historical scenes dressed in comparatively modern garb. In mural decorations it will not have been thought at all incongruous to paint Napoleonic sentinels outside the palace of the Buddha's father! All this was restored by Rama III. with the addition as already mentioned of a back chapel which contained mural decorations depicting the sacred

Nakon Rajasema (note the *sema* which in modern time has become *sima*) and Phra Tabong (Battambang), the gubernatorial title of the latter being "Abhai Bhubes" which calls to mind the last governor under Siam who bore a similar title with the rank of Chao Phya. Nine out of 21 minor provinces in this section were directly responsible to the Mahadthai, the administrative department of the central Government for this part of the Kingdom. A missing province of some interest is the one we find written behind the Uposatha windows as Bhukhandhapuri (ภูคหฺนฑปุริ). Now the modern province of Khukhandh (หฺนฑ) has given rise to a great deal of discussion as to the meaning of its seemingly unintelligible name. It sounds rather like the name of the famous hunter of the Ramakirti but not quite that, as the hunter's name in the play was Kukhan (กุกฺขณ),¹ and besides he was supposed to have been chief of his province named Buriram. Since we have also Buriram almost next door, there does not seem to be sufficient reason in naming another province after him. Rather would it seem that the sound of the name Buriram has somehow suggested the hunter and thereby given a misrepresentation of some older name which was not so familiar. K'ukhan (กุกฺขณ) has also been suggested² as meaning "surrounded by moats" but กุก is a Siamese word and for a Siamese word to be compounded with one from a classical language though permissible at times is not a common process. Bhukhandh is more agreeable in every sense and it would seem that our inscriptions may yet lay down the rule and accidentally fulfil their royal creator's supposed wish of setting the standard of learning.

In the south (right cloister), we find two minor provinces, Prachin and Nakon Nayok, directly responsible to the Mahadthai; and another (Phanasanikom) to the Krom Tha. Jolapuri and Chandapuri, two of the more flourishing provinces on the east coast, are missing; so also is Chachoengsao the seat of the modern administrative circle of Prachin. On the west coast we find Nakon Sri

1. The "Guba" of Valmiki's Ramayana.

2. By the Right Rev. Phra Brahmamuni, the present abbot of Eero-manivas Monastery.

Dharmaraj a first class province directly responsible to the Kalahom with Kedah or Thraiburi as a major tributary; whilst two other provinces, Pathalung and Songkhla, though ranking second class, are also directly responsible to the same department. Upon Songkhla depended some 21 minor provinces mostly situated to the south including the seven provinces which constituted the administrative circle of Pattani lately amalgamated with Nakon Sri Dharmaraj. Trengganu and Kelantan are missing.

In the west cloister behind the Uposatha, we find primarily Krungkao (Ayudhya) and the minor provinces of Lobpuri and Sarapuri under the Mahadthai; Rajapuri and three other minor provinces under the Kalahom; and one minor province (Nondapuri) under the Krom Tha. There are no doubt many missing, such for instance as the considerable province of Suphan.

The north cloister provides the most interesting list of all, its territory stretching from the north of Ayudhya right up to Bayab circle. It includes as well the Lao territories of the north-east, extending over the left bank of the Mekong to include what is now French Laos, ceded by Siam some sixty years later. Provinces directly responsible to the Mahadthai were:—

Tributaries: Chiengmai, Lamphun, Lampang, Nan, Phrae, Nakon Phanom, Wieng Chan, Pasak (better known by their Gallic orthography of Vientiane and Bassac) and (presumably) Luang Prabang (though the name of the last is missing, its dependencies were fully listed).

Major provinces: The first class province of Bisnulok as well as the province of Svargalok are missing but their dependent provinces are given; the major provinces of Sukhodaya, Bijai, Kambaengbejra, and Tak. The provinces of Nakon Svarga, Bichit, and their neighbours are entirely missing, though fully mentioned behind the Uposatha windows in the Church list.

In dealing with the inscriptions of the somewhat technical illustrations of Siamese poetic art among the cloisters, it would be well to bear in mind that according to the tradition of Siamese Prosody there are four main categories of poetry : The Klōng perhaps the most popular among the intelligentsia ; the Klon, more simple and easily adapted to lyrical uses, hence generally employed in drama ; the Kūbya, a kind of easy metre excelled in by poets of the Ayudhya period, but not represented here ; and finally the Chanda, possibly later in adaptation from Pali and Sanskrit and more strictly conforming to its classical prototype. The poverty of short syllables in our monosyllabic language however renders the adaptation of the majority of classical Chanda metres difficult and even Prince Paramanujit could not put enough life into verses illustrating the 58 classical metres in our inscriptions. The Siamese Chanda, like the classical Sanskrit, consists of two groups of metres : those measured by the number of syllables called Varnavṛitti ; and those measured by the number of morae they contain, called Mātrāvṛitti. Our inscriptions here consist of the following :—

(a) Fifty slabs of the former group of Chanda, the Varnavṛitti, the subject being maxims of a moral type ;

(b) Eight slabs of the latter group of Chanda, the Mātrāvṛitti, which are seemingly more alive than the Varnavṛitti owing no doubt to the lesser necessity of trying to provide short syllables for the metres, importance being more attached to the morae.

In the prologue of these verses it was stated that Prince Paramanujit composed them by royal command in C. S. 1204 (1842). The 58 stanzas were adopted from the Pali treatise named Vrittodaya¹ (more commonly called Vuttodaya) for the first time in Siamese. Again as an epilogue there were verses summing up the contents in this way : “ The above 50 stanzas of Varnavṛitti and 8 of the Mātrāvṛitti making up 58 stanzas have been adopted by myself alone. Their contents treated of the seven kinds of wives ; the six causes of downfalls ; the results each, of drinking, of going out at night, of attending entertainments, of gambling, of associating with

1. Composed in the 12th. century by Saṅgharakkhita of Ceylon.

ly interesting to any one but a native Siamese, thus:

	อมรแมนแมนแมนเจ้าจามโถม
<u>ชลอชลอโลกให้ โศกโศกรม</u>	<u>แต่เดาเดาเดาโถมฤกษ์แด</u>
คังกระคายห้อยห้อยห้อยเหงเหงเหงาย	ชม่ายมายมายเมียงจะเคียงแ
<u>วชนนหมอย้ายแล</u>	<u>กระคายแต่ชมเขาเข้าเข้าคั่น</u>
	กตบท "ศรประคัมคาว"

หลวงนายชาญภูเบศร์ แต่ง

In treating of inscriptions of the cloisters mention should be made of the paintings, now vanished, illustrating an important branch of Siamese fable literature. These were arranged in collections (called Pakaranam). The two collections painted here deserve mention, although no explanatory inscriptions seem ever to have existed. As in most of those classical and modern languages of Asia which have been influenced by Indian Aryan civilisation, these collections form a distinct class in Siamese Literature. Some collections can be traced through Lao Literature to have originated from the Pañcatantra, whilst others are obviously later translations into Siamese from various sources. The collection of the fables of Nonduk (corresponding to Pañcatantra I.) here represented was no doubt the story of Nonduk the bull¹ as related by Tantrai, the daughter of a prime minister, who pacified her sovereign, like Scheherazade, by telling him stories on consecutive nights and thereby saved her family from imminent death. According to M. Finot, (*Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*, BEFEO, XVII, 5), the story of Tantrai is introductory of four separate collections of fables of which the collection of Nonduk is the first. The story of Tantrai and at least the collection of the fables of Nonduk also exist in Javanese literature.² The Siamese version of Tantrai including Nonduk has also been translated

1. นนทุกปกรณัม พิมพ์ในงานศพท่านฉัตรคุณรักษ์ พ. ศ. ๒๔๖๙

2. E. Cosquin, *Le Prologue-cadre des Mille et une nuits*, Paris 1909, p. 32.

into French by Professor Lorgeou (*Les Entretiens de Nang Tantrai*, Paris, 1924). The other work, the collection of tales of the Pisāca,¹ was also of Indian origin, although its venue has not yet been traced.

An important section of the precincts on account of its encyclopaedic inscriptions is the enclosure of the four great chetiyas. Rama I. brought down what remained of the famous standing Buddha in the main chapel of Wat Phra Sri Sarbej in the palace of Ayudhya. The statue could probably not be repaired having been burnt and stripped of gold metal by the enemy during the sack of the old capital. It was consequently not restored but buried or rather built over, thus giving rise to a chetiya 41 metres in height behind the main chapel. The chetiya was repaired by Rama III. and decorated in green. The latter monarch built two more on either side of it, a white one dedicated to His royal father King Rama II. and a yellow one for himself. King Mongkut built a blue chetiya behind; and, as if seeing the futility of the custom, released His successors from the obligation by laying down a ruling that in future when no more space would be available let no sovereign feel obliged to build more chetiyas of this nature for himself, because it should be understood that the first four kings knew one another personally and would naturally wish to have their monuments in one and the same place.² Now these chetiyas are surrounded by an enclosure containing several pavilions in which are placed many more encyclopaedic inscriptions. Taking them altogether we have the following:—

(a) Inscriptions explaining paintings depicting 24 of the Birth Stories of the Buddha. The stories are continued and completed in the outer pavilions next to the exterior walls;

(b) Inscriptions describing medical matters, forming the medical library of this "University in stone". Among subjects treated are: treatment of small-pox, massage, pharmacopæia, pediatrics, child-birth, etc. It was mentioned that this section was written by a court physician by name of Phya Bamroe Rājabaedya;

1. ปุจฉาวิสัชนา พิชชา ใน มหาวรรณคดี ร. ๕. ๔๔๓

2. Phra Rajavicharn, (King Chulalongkorn's critical r on the memoirs of a Princess), p. 242.

H. H. PRINCE DHANI.

(c) Regulation strength of the army in grand reviews, as on the occasion of Kathin presentations, in which the four divisions of an army, handed down from Ancient India, were still adhered to. It is interesting also to find mentioned the regiments of Cham and Japanese mercenaries armed respectively with kris or Malay daggers and axes! The pictures of these two regiments happen to remain in good preservation. Students of Siamese literature will find here identical names of royal "War horses and elephants" as in the epic of Taleng Phai from the pen also of Prince Paramanujit. Among animals drawing war chariots and conveyances of the commissariat are oxen, buffaloes, donkeys and even camels;

(d) Contemporary moralist literature was represented by the well known and now popular *Krishnā Son Nong*, as well as *Ashta Bānor*, *Bāli Son Nong*, and *Subhasit Phra Ruang*. The first mentioned, from the pen again of Prince Paramanujit, is esteemed to be one of the most eloquent pieces of Chanda poetry in Siam and is prescribed for Government schools down to the present day. The subject treated of is the conduct of a good wife, being the advice given to her sister by *Krishnā*, better known as *Draupadi* the bride of the *Pāndavas* of the *Mahābhārata*.¹ The authorship of the other three is not known, but like the first they were in the nature also of moral maxims in verse. In the *Ashta Bānor* a royal personage, who had endeared himself to eight monkeys of the forest by daily feeding them, is given much advice of a moral nature in gratitude for his generosity by those animals who turn out to be celestial beings in disguise. The poem called *Bāli Son Nong* details the dying instructions of the Monkey-king to his brother *Sugriva* as to the proper behaviour of one serving a Sovereign in anticipation of the

1. Since writing the above I have come across a note by the late King Chulalongkorn written in 1889, identifying the episode as a part of the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahabharata*, where the very same story is told in almost identical terms. (วินิจฉัยเรื่องกฤษณาสอนน้อง พิมพ์เมื่อ พ. ศ. ๒๔๗๓).

localities where the Buddha's footprints were supposed to exist. These places are the Saccabandha Mount (now known as Phrabad), the peak of Sumanakūṭa in Ceylon (Adam's Peak), the hill Rang Rung ("the Abode of the Rainbow") near Chiengmai in the country of the Yonakas, on the "Nammadāya" river in Burma "where it is to be found on the golden sands". Needless to say the artists were not in a position to have obtained any idea of the scenery of those places which, excepting possibly Phrabad, might have seemed to them to be legendary. It is indeed a pity that the paintings in the four Viharas have mostly disappeared, and we have to be content with our inscriptions which, however, are more concerned with literary than artistic details. The inscriptions besides are only found in the back chapels and were doubtless due to the initiative of the second restoration.

The north Vihara as built by Rama I. contained a common form of Buddhist iconography representing the Buddha seated on a rock accepting offerings from wild animals (a monkey and an elephant)—while the walls were painted with conventional representations of the Buddhist World as modified from the standard cosmology of the Hindus in olden times. Crawford's description, while confirming the above, added that there were also "full-sized figures of natives of Lao, Pegue, China, Tartary, Hindustan, and Persia". These figures were probably decorations of the folds of doors, for Crawford went on to say that "they were purely ornamental". They were probably renewed and perhaps added to the second restoration for we now have among other figures of gentlemen of the period of Louis XIV (*vide* illustration). He went on to say that "the wall of the same chamber was also decorated with several Chinese copies of French and English prints". In the back-chapel added to the main Vihara by King Rama III. were painted the thirteen modes of asceticism or Dhutanga. A specimen of the inscription here is given thus :

"8. Over this inscription is portrayed the ascetic mode of forest-dwelling. A monk can vow undertaking to dwell for ever in the forest, as the Venerable Nālaka, who was the nephew of the Ascetic Kāladevila. The latter once predicted



Figures of nationalities, North Vihara.

Buddhahood for the Prince Siddhartha and then told his sister about it. That lady persuaded her son to become an ascetic awaiting the Buddha. When the Prince actually became the Buddha, Nāḷaka visited him and having consulted him as to certain forms of ascetic ordinances took leave and went forth into the forest. He observed his forest-dwelling vow for seven months and became an Arhat. He was found dead leaning against a rock with his face turned in the direction of the Buddha."

Between the four Viharas just described were cloisters surrounding the central precinct, in which are to be found some interesting inscriptions, namely lists, inside the caves, of territorial divisions of the Kingdom, inscriptions explanatory of literary works of the period, the *Klōng Kelabot* and the *Phlōng Yāo Kelabot*, and specimens of Prose. The territorial lists are interesting for students of Siamese history and geography, and were in explanation of pictures of territories, arranged round the Upasatha in accordance with their geographical situation. They contained names of provinces, with, in some of the more important places, the titles of their Governors, and were said (in Prince Paramanujit's record referred to above as the third source of our information) to have consisted of 374 provinces. It is to be noted that while the general rule was that the first class provinces were directly responsible to either of the then administrative departments of the central Government and the minor provinces were dependent upon them, yet not a few of the latter were made directly responsible to either of the central Government's departments, often as we know from history for reasons of local politics. Unfortunately these inscriptions were scattered, being perhaps more in the nature of labels inscribed on stone slabs rather than inscriptions of any length. Many have been consequently lost and the Royal Institute has been able to secure 77 slabs containing names of only 194 out of the 374 provinces. A brief survey of the list may be of some interest.

In the east (front cloister); the two first class provinces were

Nakon Rajasema (note the *soma* which in modern time has become *sima*) and Phra Tabong (Battambang), the gubernatorial title of the latter being "Abhai Bhubes" which calls to mind the last governor under Siam who bore a similar title with the rank of Chao Phya. Nine out of 21 minor provinces in this section were directly responsible to the Mahadthai, the administrative department of the central Government for this part of the Kingdom. A missing province of some interest is the one we find written behind the Upasatha windows as Bhukhandhapuri (ภุคฺคหณฺฑปุริ). Now the modern province of Khukhandh (ขุขันธ์) has given rise to a great deal of discussion as to the meaning of its seemingly unintelligible name. It sounds rather like the name of the famous hunter of the Ramakirti but not quite that, as the hunter's name in the play was Kukhan (กุกฺขณ),¹ and besides he was supposed to have been chief of his province named Buriram. Since we have also Buriram almost next door, there does not seem to be sufficient reason in naming another province after him. Rather would it seem that the sound of the name Buriram has somehow suggested the hunter and thereby given a misrepresentation of some older name which was not so familiar. Kukhan (กุกฺขณ) has also been suggested² as meaning "surrounded by meats" but กุ is a Siamese word and for a Siamese word to be compounded with one from a classical language though permissible at times is not a common process. Bhukhandh is more agreeable in every sense and it would seem that our inscriptions may yet lay down the rule and accidentally fulfil their royal creator's supposed wish of setting the standard of learning.

In the south (right cloister), we find two minor provinces, Prachin and Nakon Nayok, directly responsible to the Mahadthai; and another (Phanasanikom) to the Krom Tha. Jolapuri and Chandapuri, two of the more flourishing provinces on the east coast, are missing; so also is Chachengsao the seat of the modern administrative circle of Prachin. On the west coast we find Nakon Sri

1. The "Guba" of Valmiki's Ramayana.

2. By the Right Rev. Phra Brahmanuni, the present abbot of Boromaniwas Monastery.

Dharmaraj a first class province directly responsible to the Kalahom with Kedah or Thraiburi as a major tributary; whilst two other provinces, Pathalung and Songkhla, though ranking second class, are also directly responsible to the same department. Upon Songkhla depended some 21 minor provinces mostly situated to the south including the seven provinces which constituted the administrative circle of Pattani lately amalgamated with Nakon Sri Dharmaraj. Trengganu and Kelantan are missing.

In the west cloister behind the Uposatha, we find primarily Krungkao (Ayudhya) and the minor provinces of Lobpuri and Sarapuri under the Mahadthai; Rajapuri and three other minor provinces under the Kalahom; and one minor province (Nondapuri) under the Krom Tha. There are no doubt many missing, such for instance as the considerable province of Suphan.

The north cloister provides the most interesting list of all, its territory stretching from the north of Ayudhya right up to Bayab circle. It includes as well the Lao territories of the north-east, extending over the left bank of the Mekong to include what is now French Laos, ceded by Siam some sixty years later. Provinces directly responsible to the Mahadthai were:—

Tributaries: Chiangmai, Lamphun, Lampang, Nan, Phrae, Nakon Phanom, Wieng Chan, Pasak (better known by their Gallic orthography of Vientiane and Bassac) and (presumably) Luang Prabang (though the name of the last is missing, its dependencies were fully listed).

Major provinces: The first class province of Bisnulok as well as the province of Svargalok are missing but their dependent provinces are given; the major provinces of Sukhodaya, Bijai, Kambaengbejra, and Tak. The provinces of Nakon Svarga, Bichit, and their neighbours are entirely missing, though fully mentioned behind the Uposatha windows in the

In dealing with the inscriptions of the somewhat technical illustrations of Siamese poetic art among the cloisters, it would be well to bear in mind that according to the tradition of Siamese Prosody there are four main categories of poetry: The Klōng perhaps the most popular among the intelligentsia; the Klon, more simple and easily adapted to lyrical uses, hence generally employed in drama; the Kābya, a kind of easy metre excelled in by poets of the Ayudhya period, but not represented here; and finally the Chanda, possibly later in adaptation from Pali and Sanskrit and more strictly conforming to its classical prototype. The poverty of short syllables in our monosyllabic language however renders the adaptation of the majority of classical Chanda metres difficult and even Prince Paramanujit could not put enough life into verses illustrating the 58 classical metres in our inscriptions. The Siamese Chanda, like the classical Sanskrit, consists of two groups of metres: those measured by the number of syllables called Varnavṛitti; and those measured by the number of morae they contain, called Mātrāvṛitti. Our inscriptions here consist of the following:—

(a) Fifty slabs of the former group of Chanda, the Varnavṛitti, the subject being maxims of a moral type;

(b) Eight slabs of the latter group of Chanda, the Mātrāvṛitti, which are seemingly more alive than the Varnavṛitti owing no doubt to the lesser necessity of trying to provide short syllables for the metres, importance being more attached to the morae.

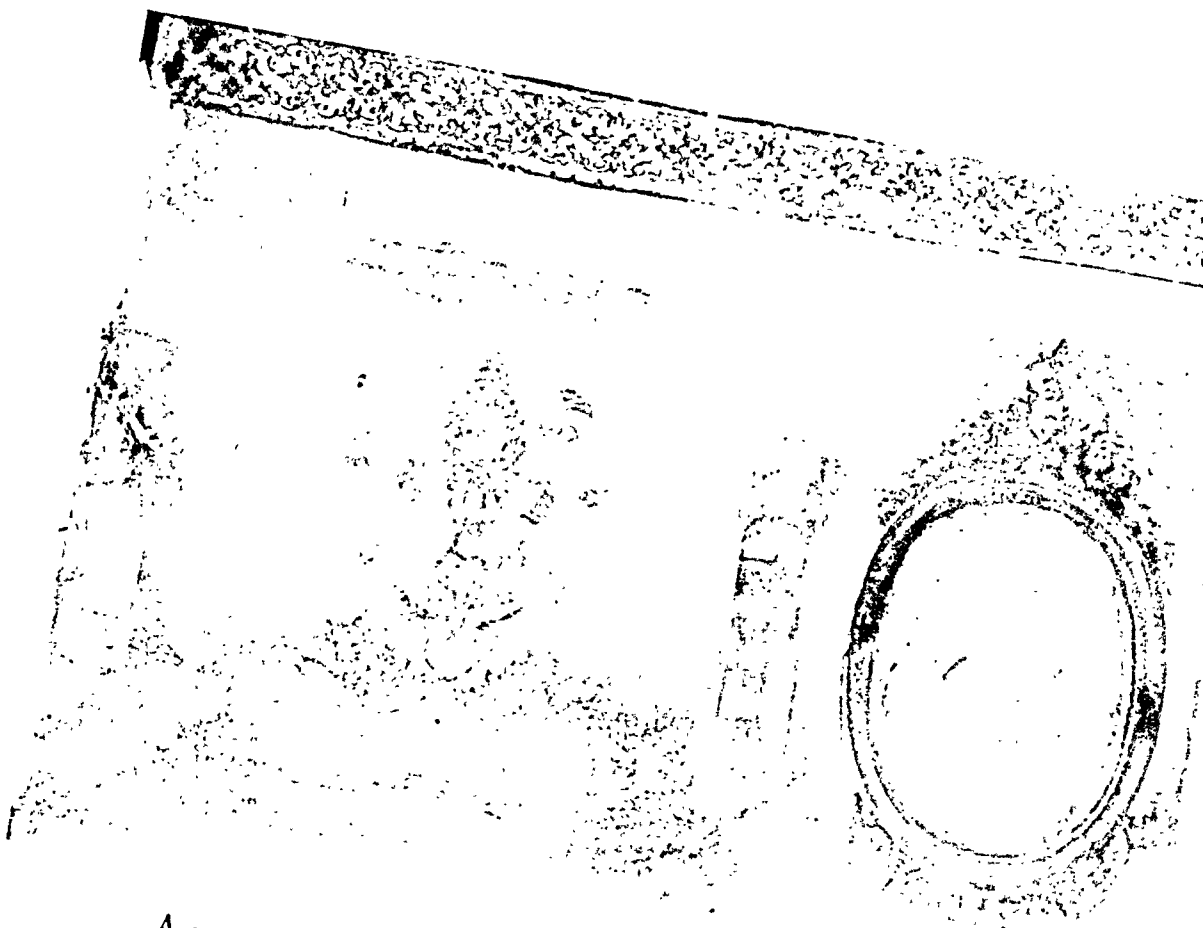
In the prologue of these verses it was stated that Prince Paramanujit composed them by royal command in C. S. 1204 (1842). The 58 stanzas were adopted from the Pali treatise named Vrittodaya¹ (more commonly called Vuttodaya) for the first time in Siamese. Again as an epilogue there were verses summing up the contents in this way: “The above 50 stanzas of Varnavṛitti and 8 of the Mātrāvṛitti making up 58 stanzas have been adopted by myself alone. Their contents treated of the seven kinds of wives; the six causes of downfalls; the results each, of drinking, of going out at night, of attending entertainments, of gambling, of associating with

1. Composed in the 12th. century by Saṅgharakkhita of Ceylon.

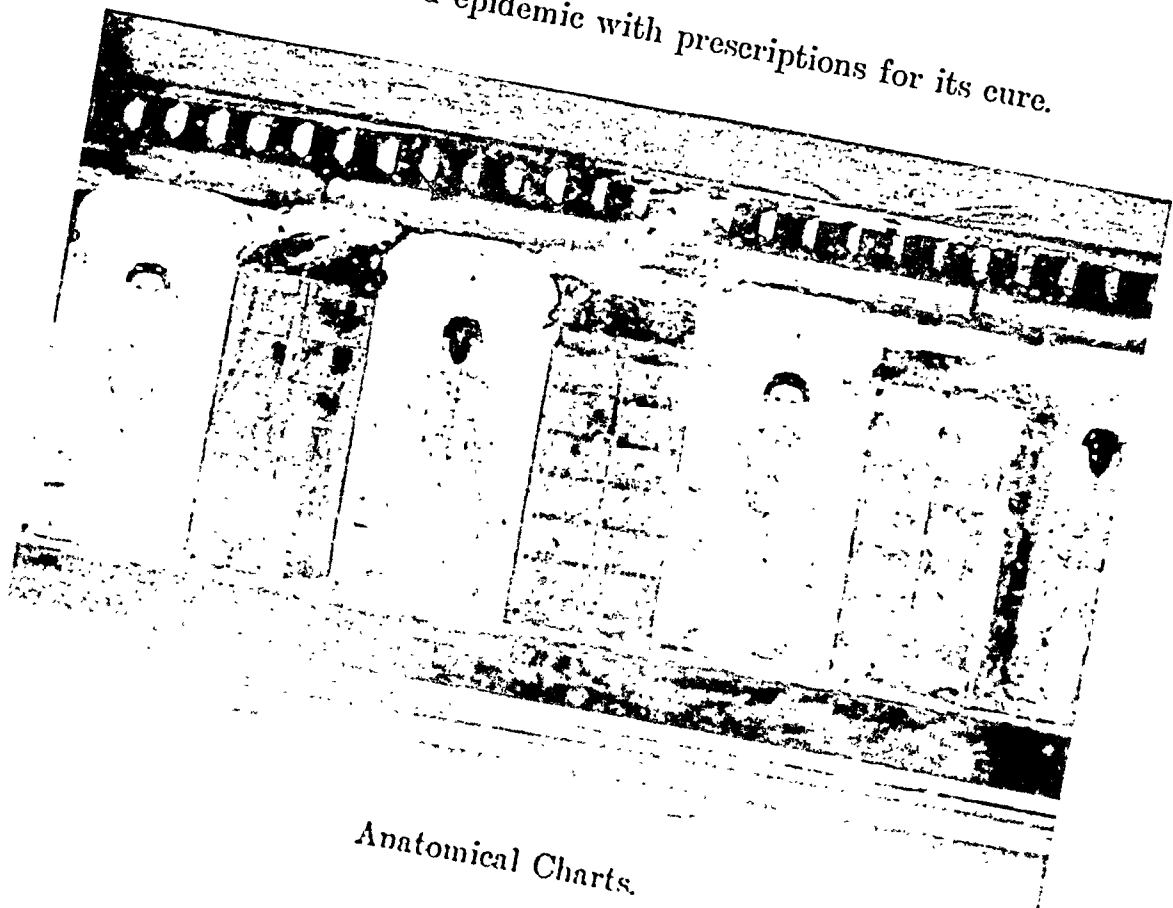
the six kinds of persons of evil disposition, of the six forms of laziness; of the 4 categories each of good and bad friends; of the 4 evil dispositions (*agati*); of the 5 catastrophes; the paths of action; of the 38 good actions; of the injunctions to an official; of the recommendations for the monarch's behaviour. The knowledge of all these moral verses should be productive of good, should help to ward off all evil and suffering, should enhance one in prosperity, health and honour. They have been inscribed on half the cloister pillars by command of His Majesty, who wishes thereby to lead his people along the path of Knowledge.....”.

We now come to another category of poetry, the Klon, in the forms of the Phleng Yao Kolabot and Kola Aksorn.¹ These have not been translated nor adopted from anywhere. They formed a collection of examples of Siamese Klon verses on a variety of subjects composed by a group of poets including the King himself. In the prologue to the collection, it was stated that they had been composed by a number of poets at the instigation of His Majesty who wished that future generations should be able to obtain easy access to that “branch of knowledge which was in olden times considered as the knowledge essential to a gentleman but has now become rare among people who have turned to bad ways”. It was further explained that these verses had been written as examples of rhetoric and consequently contained much of a worldly nature. The King was well aware that erotic poetry was the opposite of the spiritual but with the above excuse he wished that the collection should be tolerated in some such manner as the dedication of music and song. The contents of these verses are mainly erotic, as the name “Phleng Yao” suggests; the main interest lying in a kind of verbal extravaganza, in which an intricate play on tonal accents is a feature. It is consequently somewhat difficult to give details in a way which would be sufficient-

1. Published by the Royal Institute, with an introduction by Prince Damrong giving an historical survey of Siamese Poetry, under the title of “เพลงยาวกลบทและกลอักษร สมเด็จพระมาตุจฉาเจ้าฯ โปรดให้พิมพ์ในงานเฉลิมพระชันษาครบ ๖๐ ปีบริบูรณ์ พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๕”



A personified epidemic with prescriptions for its cure.



Anatomical Charts.

into French by Professor Lorgeou (*Les Entretiens de Nang Tantrai*, Paris, 1924). The other work, the collection of tales of the *Pisāca*,¹ was also of Indian origin, although its venue has not yet been traced.

An important section of the precincts on account of its encyclopaedic inscriptions is the enclosure of the four great chetiyas. Rama I. brought down what remained of the famous standing Buddha in the main chapel of Wat Phra Sri Sarbej in the palace of Ayudhya. The statue could probably not be repaired having been burnt and stripped of gold metal by the enemy during the sack of the old capital. It was consequently not restored but buried or rather built over, thus giving rise to a chetiya 41 metres in height behind the main chapel. The chetiya was repaired by Rama III. and decorated in green. The latter monarch built two more on either side of it, a white one dedicated to His royal father King Rama II. and a yellow one for himself. King Mongkut built a blue chetiya behind; and, as if seeing the futility of the custom, released His successors from the obligation by laying down a ruling that in future when no more space would be available let no sovereign feel obliged to build more chetiyas of this nature for himself, because it should be understood that the first four kings knew one another personally and would naturally wish to have their monuments in one and the same place.² Now these chetiyas are surrounded by an enclosure containing several pavilions in which are placed many more encyclopaedic inscriptions. Taking them altogether we have the following:—

(a) Inscriptions explaining paintings depicting 24 of the Birth Stories of the Buddha. The stories are continued and completed in the outer pavilions next to the exterior walls;

(b) Inscriptions describing medical matters, forming the medical library of this "University in stone". Among subjects treated are: treatment of small-pox, massage, pharmacopaeia, pediatrics, child-birth, etc. It was mentioned that this section was written by a court physician by name of Phya Bamroe Rājabaedya;

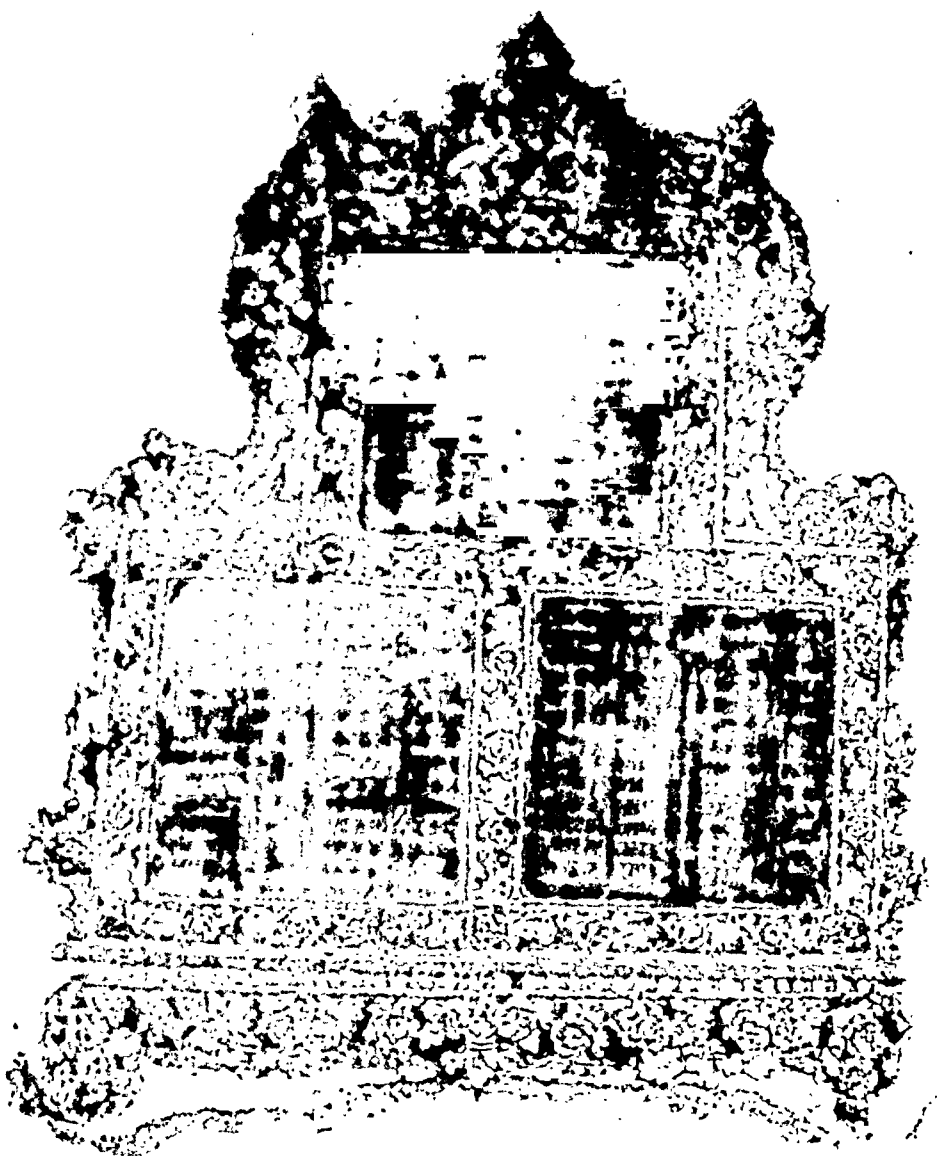
1. ปีสัจปกรณ์ พิมพ์ใน งานศพหม่อมเจ้าลิลิตาภวโร พ.ศ. ๒๔๖๗

2. Phra Rajavicharn, (King Chulalongkorn's critical pamphlet on the memoirs of a Princess), p. 242.

(c) Regulation strength of the army in grand reviews, as on the occasion of Kathin presentations, in which the four divisions of an army, handed down from Ancient India, were still adhered to. It is interesting also to find mentioned the regiments of Cham and Japanese mercenaries armed respectively with kris or Malay daggers and axes! The pictures of these two regiments happen to remain in good preservation. Students of Siamese literature will find here identical names of royal "War horses and elephants" as in the epic of Taleng Phai from the pen also of Prince Paramanujit. Among animals drawing war chariots and conveyances of the commissariat are oxen, buffaloes, donkeys and even camels;

(d) Contemporary moralist literature was represented by the well known and now popular *Krishnā Son Nong*, as well as *Ashta Bānor*, *Bāli Son Nong*, and *Subhasit Phra Ruang*. The first mentioned, from the pen again of Prince Paramanujit, is esteemed to be one of the most eloquent pieces of Chanda poetry in Siam and is prescribed for Government schools down to the present day. The subject treated of is the conduct of a good wife, being the advice given to her sister by *Krishnā*, better known as *Draupadi* the bride of the *Pāndavas* of the *Mahābhārata*.¹ The authorship of the other three is not known, but like the first they were in the nature also of moral maxims in verse. In the *Ashta Bānor* a royal personage, who had endeared himself to eight monkeys of the forest by daily feeding them, is given much advice of a moral nature in gratitude for his generosity by those animals who turn out to be celestial beings in disguise. The poem called *Bāli Son Nong* details the dying instructions of the Monkey-king to his brother *Sugriva* as to the proper behaviour of one serving a Sovereign in anticipation of the

1. Since writing the above I have come across a note by the late King Chulalongkorn written in 1889, identifying the episode as a part of the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahabharata*, where the very same story is told in almost identical terms. (วินิจฉัยเรื่องภฤณาสอนน้อง พิมพ์ เมื่อ พ. ศ. ๒๔๗๓).



Inscriptions of Moralistic Literature in
precincts of the Chetiya.



Cham Mercenaries of the Army.



Japanese Mercenaries of the Army.

latter's service under Rama. The last poem as its name indicates is supposed to have been a collection of sayings of that figure of romance, the once mythical sovereign of Sukhodaya, but now identified with the historical Sri Indrāditya ;

(e) Two inscriptions bear witness to the consideration given to the once all-important subject of Astrology and omens. One was written in verse without any statement as to authorship, while the other gives Pali formulae for warding off evils.

Mention has already been made of the pavilions next to the outer walls, where were painted the Birth-Stories of the Buddha continued from the pavilions in the enclosure of the great chetiyas. Besides the Birth-Stories, however, there are mingled figures and inscriptions of interest. Instead of mural decorations in paint, here are set up figures of rishis in what were deemed to be attitudes of physical self-culture with explanatory verses and charts written on the wall behind.¹ Each of the sixteen pavilions had also two stone figures representing various Nationalities, among whom we find the Singhalese, Siamese, Karen, African, Dutch, Italian, French, Japanese, Arab, Turk, Pathan, Russian, Tartar, Shan, Burmese, Hindu, Malay, Cham, Lao, Korean, Annamite, Chinese, Cambodian, Liu Kiu, Notable absentees were the English, American, Portuguese and German. In the latter case of course this was before 1870. The explanatory verses for both the rishis and the nationalities were by different authors of the period. A few specimens of the inscriptions of the latter class of figures, of which only two remain, may be interesting.

The Siamese (by Prince Paramanujt)

"The figure of a Siamese, handsome as if shaped by Heaven dwelling in the prosperous and glorious city of Ayudhya.....

"He wears a coat of ravishing material, a painted panung....."

1. It would seem from Crawford's description that instead of the stone figures, these illustrations of physical culture were then painted on the walls. The figures must then be innovations of the second restoration.

The parts left out are nothing more than complimentary epithets.

The Dotchi, i. e. Dutch (by the Rev. Phra Nānapariyāti)

"The farang figure here represents a sea-faring nationality, strong and unshakable in their faith of Jesus Christ, who they believed created the World.

"In semblance like the English, wearing trousers, coat and hat, inhabiting a country to the south called Vilanda, they are called Dotchi."

The information above though rather inaccurate is yet clear, excepting the meaning of the "country to the south called Vilanda". Perhaps the author meant south of the English whom he had just mentioned, or perhaps he was thinking of the Dutch colonials nearer Siam. Vilanda or Blanda might have been assimilated from "Flanders". In more modern times Hollanda is also used, but Dotchi has never been met with elsewhere. It is also interesting to note that the English, whose figure is not among the thirty-two set up, was nevertheless well-known as evidenced by this and other similar inscriptions.

The Français (by the Rev. Phra Muninayok)

"The Français in a black tunic with gold epaulettes and gilded buttons on the breeches (?), a watch chain dangling from his pocket;

"His country is on a par with (that of) the English, and possesses high mountains. It is guarded on the borders by Sipāys bearing rifles as protection for the populace".

Apparently Siam was well acquainted with French officialdom. The term Sipāy is more generally known by its Anglo-Indian orthography of Sepoy, although the word came originally from the Persian "Sipāhi" which would sound nearer to the Siamese pronunciation.

The Japanese (by Prince Dej Adisorn)

"The attractive figure here demands your stop and admiration, being a standing figure of a Japanese. On his head are two tufts of bundled hair, and he wears a multi-coloured gown.

"His habitat is on the island of Nippon among hills; he is skilled in all crafts, his sword is beautifully gleaming, his trade among others is in teapots and pinto".

The foreigner's mistaken idea of the multi-coloured kimono of a Japanese is evident here also. The origin of the Siamese "pinto" is here indicated and its identification with the "bento" is obvious.

The Rouch Pitasbag (by the Rev. Phra Nānapariyati)

"The Rouch Pitasbag here lives in the West. His country contains a big population, so have I heard. In the wet months there are hailstorms and extremely cold rainstorms.

"The country folk there wear coats made of sheepskin, and sleep by the fire. Some of them kill goats to make coats of their skin which are overbearingly malodorous".

Another nationality was also given as the "Rouch living near Chinese territory" which has been presumed to refer to the Russian Tartar.

Behind the enclosure of the great chetiyas again, is another enclosure of the Library with similar pavilions containing more inscriptions. Within the Library itself was depicted the story of the nine Buddhist councils for the revision of the Master's teachings, with explanatory inscriptions. No texts of these was published by the Royal Institute, but the history of these councils is well known to students of Siamese Buddhism. It can be found fully reiterated in Prince Damrong's edition of Chao Phya Dibakarawongs' History of the First Reign, treating of the ninth council held under the patronage of King Rama I. of the Chakri dynasty in 1788, sixty years before its inclusion in this encyclopaedia in stone. The story of these councils is an interesting indication of the way by which Buddhism came to this country. The first three councils are well known in every school of Buddhism, having taken place in India. The council of Kanishka, however, is not mentioned, the cleavage of Mahayana doctrine not being taken into account. In its stead we have the council in Ceylon of Mahinda, some 20 years after the third Council of Asoka, and another one, the fifth, some 200 years after, also in Ceylon. Then over 500 years afterwards the work of retranslating into Pali

from Singhalese of the Canons by Buddhaghosha is reckoned as the sixth council. The seventh council in 1044 of the Christian era again took place in Ceylon. The eighth brings us over to Chiengmai and is dated 1477, taking place under the patronage of King Tilaka or Lok, the famous adversary of the Siamese King Phra Paraina Trailokanath (1448-1488). The text tells us that Buddhism was brought to Burma from Ceylon by King Anurudh of Pagan and from there spread to neighbouring countries. Other councils in Ceylon and Burma not in this chronological sequence were not treated of.

The pavilions were painted with representations of the earlier episodes of the Ramakirti leading up presumably to the coming of age of Rama, though most of the inscriptions have been lost. Additional spaces were decorated differently in each pavilion and there were the Incarnations of Vishnu, the wiles of women, the story of the Mon woman's divine rice, the story of the Songkrant, and the story called Sibsong Liem (the Duodecagon). Unfortunately one of the pavilions was pulled down to make room for the enlargement of the enclosure of the great chetiyas due to the erection of the blue chetiya by King Mongkut, and thus part of the episodes of the Ramakirti as well as the Incarnations of Vishnu have been lost. Another pavilion fell under the weight of the Library dome which crumbled down, and caused the loss to us of another section of the episodes and also the "wiles of women". What remains is incomplete. It should be noted, however, that so far as we can judge from their fragmentary remains the episodes from the Ramakirti, follow the well known Ramakirti of King Rama I. in all respects. The Sibsong Liem survives in a written form elsewhere and has been published by the Royal Institute.¹ Prince Damrong, in a preface to the latter, was of opinion that the work belonged to the later Ayudhya period while the story being Persian in setting must have been translated from some esteemed piece of Persian Literature brought over by the

1. "นิทานอิหฺรํภณกรรม ๑๒ เรื่อง ที่เรียกกันมาว่า เรื่อง ๑๒ เหลี่ยม" พิมพ์ในงานศพท่านผู้หญิงตลับสุวรรณศวันต์นคํกิตติ พ. ศ. ๒๔๖๕

that Rama III was wont to have regular sermons in the palace, and the subject of the sermons were all included in these inscriptions. When it came to the turn of some minor priests many of whom were Mon, the subject became more trifling until the word "Mon" came almost to be identified with trash. The juxtaposition of this inscription to the next one to be described would perhaps suggest in an indirect way how the Mon element had come in.

The inscriptions about the Songkrant are not complete. The first slab acknowledges its source to have come from Pali writings in the country of the Mons. The narrative again goes back to the mythical ages to explain the origin of the Songkrant or new year festival. In those days the calendar was lunar and the year commenced on the first day of the waxing moon of the fifth month. For purposes of astrological reckoning, however, a solar calendar had to be kept up and according to this the date of the entry of the sun into Aries (April the 13th) was popularly observed under the name of Songkrant (Saṅkranti). Popular tradition had it that on this day a Songkrant angel arose with the dawn in the Eastern seas, and her mount, her attitude, her food were materials for the divination of the people's welfare for the coming year and therefore formed a subject of much speculation. Our inscriptions tell us of the popular story of the Seven Songkrant angels, daughters of Kapila the Brahman, who lost his head in a wager. The head had to be borne aloft: and each new year at the sun's entry into Aries, a daughter took her turn to fly round the World with the father's head. It should be noted that like the last inscription the present one claims a certain connection also with the Mon country and both stories seem to have been in the nature of explaining away the origin of customs. The former perhaps might have been intended to explain the custom of giving rice to ascetics on Wednesdays although nowadays no one seems to practice special charities on that day rather than any other. The latter's purport is of course clearer.

On the outer walls of these pavilions will be found other inscriptions which are not quite complete. They are the well-known Klong Lokaniti, or "Verses of Worldly Wisdom," from the pen of

Prince Dej Adisorn, a younger brother of Rama III., who besides being a poet and a scholar of note, was a statesman of some repute. He was later promoted by King Mongkut to the rank of Krom Somdech, which is reckoned as an equivalent to the modern Somdech Krom Phya. His "Verses of Worldly Wisdom" were in nature similar to the four collections of moral maxims mentioned above. It consisted of 345 stanzas, and was according to its own introduction, taken from old maxims, which seem to indicate a Siamese origin.

Behind the enclosure of the Library were two rockery groups, one containing a small pavilion said to be European in style, and the other a Chinese. Both had mural paintings, but there does not seem to exist any inscription, and therefore, the painting having been lost as in the case of almost everything else in the monastery, we are not in a position to know anything beyond the fact that the European pavilion contained pictures of the thirteen stores (๑๓ ชั้น), and the Chinese one had representations of the famous historical episode of Chinese history, the Three Kingdoms.

Two more buildings in the precincts contained paintings and explanatory inscriptions. One was the Sala Kan Parien, presumably intended to have been a school in older times, though no such purpose has ever been connected with this kind of building in any monastery nowadays. It is true that the Sala Kan Parien up country often serves among others the purpose of a local school, where primary education is given to the children of the village, but this is an entirely new idea and cannot have any connection with the suggestion above. Anyhow when the Sala Kan Parien of this monastery was planned, it could never have been intended to be a school at all. Its mural decoration was on the subject of Hell and the Petas, spirits of the deceased, undergoing their purgatorial period, but unlike the Purgatorio of Dante, the World of Petas seemed to have been much less agreeable. The Peta in Siamese art is usually extremely emaciated, whilst in northern Buddhism he is called the hungry ghost. The inscriptions tell us that in 1838 Prince Kraisaravijit, the superintendent of the whole work of restoration, was commanded by the

King to have this Sala painted with pictures of Hell and the Petas. The subject was taken from the Devadūta Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya dealing with the fate of those who neglect the messengers of death. It would not seem necessary to translate the contents in this short survey, dealing as it does with a subject common to monastic art and possessing no historical interest.

We now come to the last building of epigraphical interest and importance—the Vihara of the Reclining Buddha. As above stated this was a new addition of Rama III. and not a restoration. We learn from the poetical narrative of Prince Paramanujit already referred to that here was to be found an inscription detailing the work of this second restoration. This particular inscription, however, does not exist and nothing is known of its contents, although an empty slab of stone remains to testify to the statement of its existence by the Patriarch that :

“ในฉาแผ่น ๆ พูน	พินาร หตวงเฮย
พระมชน ๆ หน	แห่งสร้าง
จากถกษณั ๆ วิถาร	ถวนถึ แถตงนา
ปราชญ์อ่าน ๆ ช่างรู้	เรองรเบียด ”

“ On a stone in the great Vihara
where the Lord's reclining effigy lies,
will be found minute information
the wise, who read, will know of (this restoration)”.

The mural painting of this Vihara was curiously not specified in the Patriarch's narrative, which was rather strange considering the minute details elsewhere. The only mention of it was that the northern wall of the monastery was enlarged, an image of the Reclining Buddha was built in brick and plaster and a Vihara built over to give it shade. No mention again of the Vihara was made in the verses giving details of the painters and the nature of the painting in the various parts of the monastery. Nevertheless

the Vihara is full of paintings, and inscriptions, although many of the latter have been lost. As in the main chapel, its paintings remain in a tolerable condition, while in most other buildings very little is discernible. The window panes, besides containing decorative gold painting of a stereotyped character, have also towards their lowest parts paintings of certain stories as yet not wholly identified. Prince Damrong thinks they deal with Folk-lore. Between the windows the scheme of the Upasatha is continued. While in that sanctuary were painted the lives of the forty-one eminent disciples, here we have the lives also of the thirteen eminent women disciples of the Holy order as well as twenty eminent members of the laity of both sexes. Above the windows in the spacious sides of the building were pictures depicting Singhalese history according to the "Mahavansa" from the earliest recorded times down to the famous single combat on elephants between Kings Abhayaduttha and Elara, resulting in the former's victory and consequent conquest of Anuradhapura.

In dealing in a general way with the inscriptions of the monastery, mention must also be made of the fact that not by inscriptions and paintings alone was the encyclopaedic nature of the ensemble emphasized, but also by other decorations and embellishments such as architecture and gardening. We have for instance stone from Sukhodaya, Lobpuri and Rajapuri, marble from Nakon Nayok, and sandstone from Jolapuri and Rajapuri; we have specimens of all the then known branches of fine arts and artistic craftsmanship, painting, sculpture in metal, plaster, wood, etc., chiselling, and inlaid works; in supplement of the medical inscriptions it was said that every plant of any medicinal value was to be found there, thus:

“ รบวัด.....
.....
ปลูกพรรณพฤกษายา	เยี่ยวโรค รังษะ
ต่างต่างเหต่าให้ไว้	แวดราย”

(Prince Paramanujit's narrative)

By the restoration of this monastery, King Rama III. indeed deserved to be given the honour of having been a patron of arts and learning. Like many other Oriental patrons in the same field he surrounded himself with artists, poets and literary men whose names are recorded in the inscription, many of which, such as the names of Prince Paramanujit and Prince Dej Adisorn, have become identified with classic works of literature.

THE EARLY POSTAL HISTORY OF THAILAND.

BY PAUL P. LINDENBERG.

INTRODUCTION

1. *Postal History as Part of General History.*

Up to the end of the XIX century it was generally held that history is a record of past politics, of past wars, conquering expeditions or military aggressions. During the last thirty or forty years, however, scientists gradually began to realise that human life, past and present, is manifold, is absolutely based on the most contradicting features and facts, on geographical situation, on food, and on communications. The development of a nation can be influenced so highly from without, that a responsible historian is necessarily bound to consider continuously every possible part of human activity for obtaining an utmost realistic picture.

This new aspect necessarily leads to the conclusion that the *spiritual relations* between the individuals which form a nation, the communication between capital and provincial towns and villages of a certain country, the exchange of letters, presents and tributes of the governments themselves, are some of the most interesting sources for historical research. Evidently they are one of the bases to prove sometimes fundamental theories. We are obliged, as another consequence, to acknowledge the development of the *technical side of the communications*, i. e., the development of posts, telegraphs and telephones, of radio-communications, railway, shipping and air-traffic, as being an essential part of human life, as an integral element of the growth of mankind.

From all these I shall choose for the present study the development of the modern postal service within the boundaries of Thailand. And within this very waste, complicated and rather obstinate subject only the period of its childhood shall be particularly considered, that means the time from its beginning, in the middle of the past century, to the adherence to the Universal Postal Union by the Postal Administration of Thailand, in 1885.

A. POSTAL CONDITIONS IN THAILAND UP TO THE MIDDLE OF THE XIX CENTURY.

1. *The Inland Service.*

a. *Official Service.*

The inland mail service of the Thai Government in its state up to the middle of the XIX century must be looked at as originating with the administrative reforms carried out by *King Trailok*, (1448-1488) (1), who created five civil ministries. One of these particularly cared for the transportation of government letters.

A description of the organisation of the official inland mail given in 1925 by the Ministry of Communications states as follows :

"Prior to the establishment of Post and Telegraph services in the Kingdom of Siam, epistolary correspondence was conveyed by various methods in accordance with old usage.

"For the inland service the transmission of official letters was arranged under two categories:—*viz*, ordinary and urgent

"An ordinary message was forwarded from one province to another.

"An urgent message was conveyed by special courier. The courier was provided with means of conveyance through whatever province he had to go.

"Alterations and improvements in the above practice were made at the time when H. R. H. Prince Damrong became Minister of the Interior. Each important town was provided with regular couriers, whose duties were to despatch messages from town to town and to entrust same to fresh couriers.

For instance, in case of an urgent message intended for Nagor Rajasima, the Bangkok courier had to convey it only to Saraburi. After handing the message to a fresh courier at that place his duties ended. The successive couriers took charge of the message and carried it to its destination."

We see here, consequently, a vivid description of a well-organised relay-system as it was in use in Europe in the XV, XVI and XVII cen-

(1) see: W. A. R. Wood: . *A History of Siam*, Bangkok 1929, p. 85.

turies. With regard to the *messengers* themselves we find some particulars in another publication of the Ministry of Commerce and Communications, from which I should like to quote the following passages : (2)

"The Governor of each town maintained a number of couriers who knew the quickest routes to all neighbouring cities. Important towns also had special couriers who were versed in travel to distant cities with which they had business connection. In the Capital the Central Government maintained a large number of couriers to run to all the cities surrounding the metropolis, and a group of special couriers who knew the quickest way to every city in the Kingdom."

The same work gives also some remarkable hints with regard to the routes. (3)

"The routes were well marked and known to all. Rest-houses were provided along the routes, which were kept in order by the people. The couriers were treated with respect, and if they carried the King's letters special treatment was afforded them on the routes. For urgent and important messages special couriers made the entire trip, and it was the duty of the towns along the route to provide them with fresh ponies and other facilities for reaching their destination."

In this connection we must also consider the fact that the king as well as many nobles in ancient Thailand up to the middle of the past century had a *monopoly of trade* in most of the exported or imported goods. They were, consequently, for the despatch of orders for delivery or informations with regard to stocks, absolutely dependent on a reliable system of letter-carrying.

This commercial activity on the part of the official world unavoidably led to numerous difficulties as soon as foreign embassies visited Thailand for the purpose of concluding treaties of peace and commerce. (4) The European and American countries, particularly their merchants, needed the goods growing here, they needed on the other hand markets for their own products, and for the safe guarding

(2) see: *Siam: Nature and Industry*. Issued by the Ministry of Commerce and Communications, Bangkok, 1930, Chapter XX, p. 285, seq.

(3) *ibid.*, p. 285.

(4) see: Sir John Bowring: *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, London, 1857, Vol. II, p. 281.

of both, they needed a safe and reliable mail service. They were deeply interested in a free trade which was contrary to the interests of the holders of the monopolies.

The mail despatching organisation of Thailand during that time was, consequently, not free from *other influences*. The needs, however, of western commerce could by no means rely on ponies, rowing boats and slowly-walking elephants for the distribution of letters. On the other hand the foreign traders were highly interested in spreading as far as possible over the country but had, according to the various treaties (5) for the first period of ten years to settle only at Bangkok. They could travel around but were forbidden to purchase land or houses outside the capital. These merchants, consequently, looked too for a regular, reliable and quick mail service, as their very life depended on not being cut off from the most important town of the country, from the main harbour and from their political representative and protector.

The result of these conditions was, at a relatively early time, the fixing of *special terms* within the respective treaties of peace and commerce to secure a mail service according to European views of transportation. We find, therefore, in the *Treaty between the Honorable East India Company and Their Majesties the First and Second King of Siam*, concluded in 1826, by Captain Burney on the part of the East India Co., Article XI which secured "transmission of letters from one part of the country to the other." (6)

Twenty-nine years later, *i. e.* in 1855, Sir John Bowring, who at that time was Governor-General of Hong Kong and British Minister to the Court of Peking, succeeded in concluding a final agreement. the famous *Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Great Britain and Siam*; signed April 12th, 1865; ratified April 5th, 1856. Here the Article XI expressly indicates that amongst other regulations of the Burney Treaty, Article XI shall not be abrogated, whereas Articles 6 and 10 were modified.

(5) see: Treaty of Thailand with the United States (1856), Art. IV; Treaty of Thailand with Denmark (1858), Art. V; *Tratado de Amisade, Comercio Navegacao* (between Thailand and Portugal, 1859), Art. XI; XII; Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation between Siam and the Netherlands (1860), Art. V; Treaty of Peace and Commerce between Prussia and Siam (1862) Art. V.

(6) see: Sir John Bowring, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 202.

b. Private Letter Distribution.

Private persons and officials for their personal affairs had their own means of communication. This resulted in the employment of *private messengers* which were occasionally sent by people writing letters. All the traders and private persons kept their own couriers and employed them according to their own necessities. (7)

We can, however, presume that conditions with regard to this matter were quite similar to those of the Middle Ages in Europe. Here the *Guilds* spreading over large territories, employed their own messengers independent of imperial or royal postal organisations. Besides that *monks* to a large extent carried not only papal bulls, orders, ordinances or letters of the Catholic Church and its institutions, but also messages from and to private persons. The postal organisation of the famous Counts of Thurn and Taxis (in the old German Empire), of the Kings of England, of France or of the Italian Princes proved to be quite unable to claim a prerogative, not to speak of a *relagia*, for the postal service within their respective territories. On the contrary several of these private postal establishments gradually turned out to be extremely reliable. (8)

The already mentioned Thai messengers were originally slaves or sometimes free employees of rich people who sent letters to their relatives or for commercial purposes. There was, consequently, *no special fee* for each letter to be paid because the messenger did not earn his living from this business of letter-carrying only, as he did also other work for his master.

It is also reported that these private messengers made use of the same routes and of the same rest-houses on their way through the country. (9)

(7) see: *Postal Progress in Siam 1885-1925*, p. 3; *Siam: Nature and Industry*, p. 285.

(8) see: *The Penny-Post of William Dockwra, in London; the Provincial Penny Posts in Middle and Northern England; the Local Carriers in the United States; the numerous private postal societies and establishments in Germany; or the Semstwo Posts in Russia.*

(9) see: *Siam, Nature and Industry*, p. 285.

2. *Foreign Service.*

The connection between Thailand and foreign countries existed at that time mainly by sea though there were also some possibilities of land routes to Burma in the West, to China in the North, to Indo-China in the East, and to the Malay Peninsula in the South. As, however, foreign mail chiefly consisted of correspondence of high Thai officials for the sake of their trade monopolies and of that of foreigners who lived mainly in or near Ayutthya, or later in or near Bangkok, the *way by sea* was the most frequented.

We see, consequently, during the period in question numerous British, Danish, Portuguese, and French vessels calling at Bangkok or Penang. We see also the vessels of the Thai kings and nobles not only carrying goods, but the necessary mail. Their visits, as they all were at that time only *sailing ships*, was highly dependent on the trade winds, *i. e.*, on the North-East Monsoon in spring and on the South-East Monsoon in autumn. On the other hand it is quite impossible to give for the time being any particular dates about organisation of this mail service which was entirely subject to strictly private agreements and arrangements. Winds, loaded goods, nationality of the vessels dictated time and destination, and the good-will of the captains was more important than urgency of the letters.

B. EARLY TREATIES AND FOREIGN POSTAL ACTIVITY (1858-1885).

1. *New Economical Situation and its Consequences.*

The effect of the two treaties mentioned before was the *Agreement entered into between the undermentioned Royal Commissioners on the Part of Their Majesties the First and Second Kings of Siam and Harry Smith Parkes, Esquire, on the Part of Her Britannic Majesty's Government*, dated 18th May, 1856. Another effect was the extension of the number of British traders and their employees, the extension of the exchange of goods, and, as a necessary consequence the extension of mail too.

At this stage of affairs the means hitherto used of handling of mail, as far as the transmission from Thailand to abroad was concerned,

proved to be absolutely insufficient. The organisation hitherto maintained, *i. e.*, the thoroughly occasional character of transporting letters from Bangkok to their Eastern or Western Asiatic or European and other destinations soon turned out to be too slow, not frequent enough, and too unreliable. The main problem was, however, that none of the three named agreements literally dealt with the question of letter-transmission with regard to foreign mail.

2. *Hong Kong Postal Service at Bangkok (1858-1885).*

Ways, however, were soon found to check this dilemma, and it must be maintained that Sir John Bowring who at that time was Governor-General of Hong Kong, was the initiator of the respective improvement. This was realized by inaugurating a real postal service by aid of the newly established Consulate-General in Bangkok. The then Postmaster General of Hong Kong, S. B. C. Ross, later on published an interesting article in which he says :—(10)

“a kind of unrecognized agency of the Hong Kong Post Office had been maintained at the Consulate-General, Bangkok, where Hong Kong stamps were sold and letters could be registered.”

This statement must, though coming from an official source, nevertheless be looked at as quite inexact. The service is said to have started in 1858; (11) we can see, however, from every postage stamp catalogue that stamps were not introduced in the colony of Hong Kong before December, 1862. The Kohl-Handbook, furthermore, states that special obliterations of Hong Kong stamps used in Bangkok were only found from 1883 to 1885.

We are, consequently, bound to divide the postal activity of the Consulate-General chronologically into *three periods, i. e.* :—

(1) from 1858 to the end of 1862 : acceptance and despatch of letters only by indicating the postal fee by pen or pencil ;

(2) from 1863 to 1883 : handling of letters by franking them with Hong Kong stamps ; the obliteration took place only at their arrival at Hong Kong ,

(10) see : Postmaster General S. B. C. Ross : *Notes on the British Postal Agencies*, in *Stamp Collectors Fortnightly*, 29th Sept, 1923.

(11) see : Dr. Herbert Munk : *Kohl-Briefmarken-Handbuch*, Berlin, 1936, Vol. V, p. 222.

(3) from 1883 to 1885: handling of letters by franking them with Hong Kong postage stamps and cancelling them with a special obliterator containing the inscription BANGKOK and the date in a circle of 26 mm. diameter.

The letters of the second and third period sometimes also showed a large black seal with the British arms and the inscription BRITISH CONSULATE BANGKOK. By this measure the stamps could not be stolen. Nothing is known up to now with regard to the postal rates charged at that time.

In this connection it must be borne in mind that the handling of mail by British Consulates was quite a general custom. If we study carefully the development of *British Post Offices outside the British Empire*, especially in Central and South America, in the Near and Middle East and in some parts of Africa, we see that British Consulates-General, Consulates and Vice-Consulates were ordered to accept mail for despatch, to use British postage stamps and obliterations, to fix special postal rates for transportation to England herself and to various other European countries.

3. *Straits Settlements Postal Service at Bangkok (1882-1885).*

As already mentioned the Postal Service described went to eastern places, *i. e.*, Hong Kong, and from there to Shanghai, Swatow, Canton, Tientsin, Japan, etc. The mail to western ports, *i. e.*, to all harbours west of Singapore, this harbour included, was up to 1882 only handled after the manner of the eastern mail up to 1862.

The growing quantity of mail sent in this direction as well as the remarkable improvement in the general postal conditions in India and other British territories, however, necessarily required a considerable change in the treatment of the mail from Thailand to western destinations. Though Thailand herself, as will be explained later, made already energetic preparations to establish a postal organisation of her own, this foreign mail service urgently needed more security and regulations with regard to speed, rates, prepayment and transportation.

The result of these considerations was a special arrangement between the Governments of Thailand and the Straits Settlements, early in 1882,

which secured all these improvements and facilities. It embraced the handling of all mail from Thailand destined for the West.

The literature at this moment available unfortunately gives no particulars concerning arrival and departure of *mail boats* or regarding *rates* from Bangkok to Singapore, India, or European countries via Suez or via Cape of Good Hope. We know, however, that especially low rates were later introduced for letters to England via Marseilles. (12)

To facilitate the prepayment of these rates *special postage stamps* were sent from Singapore to Bangkok. They consisted of the stamps then in use in the Straits Settlements, but with an overprinted B. At the opening of this new service which took place on the 1st September, 1882, the values of 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 24, 30 and 96 cents were put on sale. No particulars are *likewise* at present available concerning the number of stamps overprinted. Originally there must have been large stocks of supply prepared but most of the stamps are now lost. To-day they are extremely scarce, and most of the copies offered, perhaps eighty per cent, are *forgeries*.

There is a very interesting remark given by Colonel G. E. Gerini in his *Catalogue of the Siamese Section at the International Exhibition of Industry and Labour*, held in Turin in 1911; there the author says with regard to these stamps and their use:—(13)

“They could be purchased in this form at a trifle more than cost price, the surcharge being devoted to defraying the cost of carrying the said correspondence by merchant steamers to Singapore.”

(12) From the treatises about India in the *Kohl-Briefmarken-Handbuch*, vol. I. we learn only the following figures:—

1859-1863:	Singapore to Penang	2 Annas	(see p. 484)
	Singapore to India	4 Annas	(see p. 485)
1866:	India to England via Marseilles	6 A. 8 P.	(see p. 486)
1882:	dto. dto. dto.	6 A. 6 P.	(see p. 488)

There was, however, an additional rate from Bangkok to Singapore of 2 or 4 Annas, which, in 1867, when the Dollar and Cents Currency was introduced in the Colony, was changed into its equivalent in cents.

(13) see: Col. G. E. Gerini: *Catalogue etc.* p. 67-68.

Though Colonel Gerini by giving in his Catalogue a short postal history of this country, and though showing at this exhibition *hors de concours* an extensive stamp collection, proves to be well acquainted with the material in question, this remark is extremely superficial and inexact; it does not allow any conclusions except that there was no special postal fee for the route Singapore-Bangkok or Bangkok-Singapore, but only something like a tip for the captains going and coming.

On the 1st July, 1885. the Postal Administration of Thailand joined the Universal Postal Union. Both the Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements mail services through the British Consulate-General were consequently *suspended*. Also this act was done by mutual agreement; and when we compare this development with the already described postal activity of the other British Consulates, we must see quite analogous events (14) In all these cases, as it was then in Thailand, the respective postal administrations had joined the Universal Postal Union.

C. THE EARLY THAI POSTAL SERVICE (1883-1886).

1. Preparations.

After this somewhat long but necessary incursion into the pre-1883 postal activities in Bangkok we come to the handling of postal affairs by the Thai authorities.

During all the years from the middle of the past century the Thai Government knew that the day would surely come when they would have to take the entire postal service into their own hands. In 1866, when the New York agent of the well-known stamp printing firm of De La Rue & Co., London, came over from the United States and offered

(14) A short survey with regard to this problem taken from the respective descriptions in the *Kohl Briefmarken-Handbuch* shows the following figures:—

The British Consular Post Offices were closed for the said reason:

1877 in Cuba, Fernando P'o, Puerto Rico;

1879 in Peru;

1880 in the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Venezuela;

1891 in Chile, Columbia, Haiti;

1882 in Nicaragua.

to supply Thailand with postage stamps similar to those then in use in England, the time had not yet come and the offer was declined. (15)

By and by, however, affairs got into some shape, and in 1881 H. M. King Chulalongkorn appointed his younger brother, H. R. H. Prince Bhanurangsi as Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, at the same time creating a new Ministry for the said purpose. The most important duty of the new minister was the preparation for establishing a modern Thai postal service, at first within the limits of the capital, then extending it gradually all over the country. In his birthday speech on the 21st September, 1881, His Majesty gave very detailed explanations regarding the purpose and character of this new service. (16)

2. *The Bangkok Postal Service.*

Only after two more years were regulations fixed so far as to be able to meet the demands of a modern postal service. And on Saturday, the 4th August, 1883, or on the first day of the waxing moon of the ninth month of the year of the Goat, fifth of the decade, of the year 1245 of the civil era, the doors of the Thai Post Offices opened for the first time.

For this purpose the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs issued a very detailed *Notification*. He referred to the speech made two years previously by H. M. King Chulalongkorn predicting the inauguration of the said Service; then he gave all the particulars of the Service itself which should enable the yet unaccustomed population to become acquainted with the new institution.

Then followed the *Regulations*. The Regulations consisted of seven teen chapters. *Four classes of articles* were fixed, namely:—

1. Written letters in open or closed envelopes;
2. Postcards;
3. Newspapers printed in Bangkok; and
4. Other printed publications in the form of newspapers, books, etc.

Geographically the boundaries of the new service were Samsen in the North, Bankolem in the South, Talat Plu in the West, and Sa Patum in the East.

(15) see: Reginald le May: *Historical Note*, in *Descriptive Catalogue of the Stamps of Siam*, Bangkok, 1920, p 8.

(16) see: Fred J. Melville, *op. cit.* p. 11.

There were three mail-deliveries daily throughout this area ; on the other hand a great number of letter-boxes had been placed in all parts of the town to deposit there all the mail to be gathered and distributed.

Special attention must be drawn to the Postal Rates which are an important source for some later investigations. First class mail for instance, *i.e.*, ordinary letters, was charged at 2 atts for the weight of one tical, that is 15. 13 gr., and 1 att for every additional tical of weight. Postcards were sold at the counters at the following rate :

1 postcard	1½ atts
3 postcards	4 atts
6 postcards	8 atts.

The cards had, however, an imprinted stamp of 1 att only. Newspapers were despatched for 1 att per sheet, and all fourth class articles at the rate of one att per tical weight. For any letter on which the postage was not fully prepaid, the addressee was charged with twice the amount of the deficiency.

The important business of sorting the mail, as well as the whole administration, was done at the General Post Office, which at that time was near the Ong Ang Canal that is nowadays near the Memorial Bridge, in a building to-day a part of the Telephone Service.

3. *The First Thai Postage Stamps.*

Considering the means and speed of transportation at the end of the last century it must have been late in 1882 that an order was given by the Thai Minister for Posts and Telegraphs to the firm of *Messrs. Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., London*, to supply the country with the postage stamps necessary for the prepayment of the rates mentioned before. And as hitherto nothing is known with regard to the artists who made the design and who cut the dies, or regarding the choice of the colours to be used, we must assume that Waterlow and Sons were entirely at liberty concerning these particulars. They seem to have obtained only a portrait of H. M. King Chulalongkorn in uniform, looking to the left, an information indicating the various denominations, and the Thai inscriptions to be inserted. None of the ornaments engraved had a particular Thai character, no foreigner unacquainted with the Thai alphabet was able to ascertain the value of a stamp. The printers seem to have absolutely

ignored the simplest principles and rules of international postal law concerning these details.

The *denominations* ordered and received respectively were :—

1 <i>solot</i>	dark blue
1 <i>att</i>	carmine
1 <i>sio</i>	red
1 <i>sik</i>	yellow and
1 <i>salung</i>	brown-orange.

In this connection we must remember that the rather complicated system of currency then in use in Thailand was as follows :—

2 <i>solot</i>	=	1 <i>att</i>
2 <i>atts</i>	=	1 <i>sio</i> or <i>pai</i>
2 <i>sios</i>	=	1 <i>sik</i>
2 <i>siks</i>	=	1 <i>fuang</i>
2 <i>fuangs</i>	=	1 <i>salung</i>
4 <i>salungs</i>	=	1 <i>tical</i>

On the other hand we have a much simpler calculation by dividing the *tical* into 64 *atts*. This monetary system was changed, in November, 1908, into one *tical*, or *baht*, equal to 100 *satangs*; that means $1\frac{1}{2}$ *atts* were approximately equal to 2 *satangs*.

All the inscriptions on the postage stamps were written in Thai and consisted only of the indication of the value, but omitted the name of the issuing country or administration. The centre showed the portrait of H. M. King Chulalongkorn. Printing sheets contained eighty stamps arranged in ten horizontal rows of eight copies. No marginal indications concerning plates or plate numbers were engraved, as is usual with most stamp printers, and the paper itself shows no watermark. The whole issue consisted of 500,000 sets, or 6,250 sheets of every value. Though there was only one printing, many colour shades are known from every denomination owing to a bad distribution of the colour within the printing machines.

There was, however, a mistake made in so far as these stamps were ordered at a time when the postage rates were not yet fixed. The effect was that the stamp of *one solot* could not be used at all, and that the stock of this denomination was, consequently, kept at the treasury and not sold to the public. Used copies of this stamp, therefore, must have

Bangkok. The German interest has already been mentioned; Switzerland, as the seat of the Central Bureau of the Union, liked to see a growing importance of this institution, and the United States of America had since a long time eagerly looked for an improvement of their own commercial relations with this country.

The next Postal Congress took place at Lisbon in February and March, 1885, and besides other countries, Thailand proposed joining this Union. (20)

In the meantime extensive preparations had been made for extending the postal service along the Menam River; but the inauguration itself of all the post offices took place only a short time after Thailand joined the Union. According to the explanations given by *E. Wyon Smith* in the already mentioned *Descriptive Catalogue* (21) we have to note the following new post offices:

26th August, 1885: Paklat and Paknam, with a daily service to Bangkok;

1st October, 1885: Bang-Pa-In, for the time when the Royal Court was in residence there;

19th October, 1885: Nakon Chaisi, Prapatom, Bang Yang, Tachin, Ratburi and Petchaburi, with a weekly service to Bangkok;

26th October, 1885: a fortnightly service between Bangkok and Chiangmai, which on its route touched 21 places; there were, furthermore, postal branches erected at the same date at Banpot Pisai, Kampengpet, Raheng, Sukothai and Sawankalok.

According to Melville (22) the transportation of the mail from Bangkok took 5 days to Paknam Po, 10 days to Raheng, 10 days also to Uttaradit, and 15 days to Chiangmai.

(20) Other countries were Belgian Congo, Bolivia and Tunis.

(21) See: E. Wyon Smith: *The Postmarks of Siam*, in *Descriptive Catalogue of the Postage Stamps of Siam*, p. 96. 97.

(22) See: Fred J. Melville; *Siam, Its Postage Stamps*, p. 27.

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5. *Consequences and Conclusions.*

The joining of the Universal Postal Union had some very important consequences for Thailand, which were to alter strongly the character of the various branches of postal activity.

There was, firstly, a new legislation consisting of an Act promulgated 1st July, 1885, and embracing in seven paragraphs and numerous articles all the details of international postal communication, such as the exclusive privilege of the Government for carrying letters, warranty, special penal code for private persons, shipmasters, and officials, etc.

Secondly, special postal rates were fixed for the foreign mail, including especially reduced rates for letters to the Straits Settlements, Sarawak, North Borneo, and China, but higher rates for South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, neither of which joined the Universal Postal Union before 1891 and 1892 respectively.

One of the further effects was the necessity to create new postage stamps which were able to meet the demand of this new service. Three different ways were gradually found. There was, for instance, a rate of 12 atts for ordinary letters within the Postal Union; the registration fee was at the same rate. There were, however, up to now only stamps at 1, 2, 4, 8, and 16 atts available. The latter, the one salung stamp, consequently, was sold from this time on at only 12 atts, a measure which was generally uncommon and scarcely approved of by the public. (23)

Another measure became necessary for creating a one tical stamp; this was done by *overprinting* the hitherto unusable one solot denomination. A hand-stamp was at first used, showing the new value in capitals (1 TICAL), but afterwards, apparently for obtaining a greater stock, three or four more hand-stamps were cut, all of them consisting of mixed letters. Nevertheless the whole number overprinted seems to have been not more than 7000 copies. It is a strange fact that genuinely used

(23) Similar cases are, for instance, known in Germany: during the inflation some of the provisionals were sold from 26th November, 1923, on for some weeks at four times the face value without special indication. Led by similar reasons of decline of the currency the postal administration of Indo-China, in 1919, sold its stamps at one half of face value, to meet the difference between French and Indo-Chinese Piastre (see: *Kohl-Handbook* vol. v., p. 656). In India the 8 Pies stamp of 1866 was, according to a change of the rates, in 1874, sold at 9 Pies (see: *Kohl-Hand-book*, vol. i, p. 486).

copies are practically unknown. But *forgeries* of the overprint are met with in abundance.

It was not until April, 1887, however, that a *new permanent set* of postage stamps was issued, printed by Messrs. De La Rue and Co., London, satisfying all the wishes of modern international postal laws according to the rules of the Universal Postal Union. Colours, watermark, inscriptions in Thai and English, perforation, design, and paper-treatment before the printing operation, corresponded to the latest inventions and experiences of the time with regard to safeguarding against forgeries, easy distinguishing of the denominations and easy use by the public.

A general improvement within the whole postal administration made it possible for the Thai Postal Service at the end of the 'eighties worthy to play its part in the service of international communications, for the sake of economic and cultural co-operation with other countries and continents.

With your leave, I propose to speak of King Mongkut as a legislator. I choose to speak of the King in that capacity because legislation is the field I am more closely familiar with than any other. To do full credit and justice to King Mongkut, however, one should speak about him not only as a legislator but as a Jack-of-all trades and the Master of them all. For indeed King Mongkut's abilities were proverbial and truly comprehensive. He was a poet, scholar, philosopher, legislator, administrator, scientist and diplomat, in each of which capacity he acquitted himself with the greatest of distinction.

Unfortunately some doubts have been cast upon the King's private character as a man, in the sense that he was an autocrat of high irritability and that he was a husband very much addicted to excessive polygamy. On the question of King Mongkut's autocratic dispositions I have with me here the translation of his public papers, a sample of which will provide, I am sure, ample evidence to show that the King was the first and foremost democrat of our country. One of these papers shows that on an occasion when public opinion refused to accept his pet theory on philology, the King admitted defeat readily enough. although he did so with great dignity. Another paper shows that when the Press harassed him with its incisive criticism, the absolute monarch, the Lord of Life and Death, returned no more painful retortion than compliments in kind which lends an atmosphere of the rambluous press-and-politician give-and-take that obtains in any healthy democracy of our time. In fact, this document illustrates an interesting feature of the Thai absolute monarchy in that it was never at any time taken to be perfectly absolute. It proves further that when it comes to the matter of argument with the Press or public opinion even the omnipotent monarchy of old Siam was at the receiving end and on the losing side.

With your permission, I will now read the two papers referred to. The first paper is a notification issued in the sixth month in the year of the Cow, being the 1215th year of the Lesser Era.

"This is an Order under Privy Seal (No. 1) to call kapi and nampia by the names of yuakoe and namkoe. As most of you know, kapi is a condiment made of salted squills, prawns or shrimps, especially relished by the Thai as well as other peoples throughout South-East Asia. The same may be said of nampia which is an essence of salted fish or prawns. The notification proceeds as follows:

"By Order under Privy Seal, Inang Siddi, Royal Chamberlain, hereby declares that the words kapi and nampia commonly used by the people from time immemorial and referred to by His Majesty in Court language as gnapi and namkoe are philologically incorrect. Particularly speaking, the word gnapi just mentioned should be referred to as yuakoe, as yuakoe is the source of production of this special delicacy. Whilst the word namkoe is correctly connotated in Court language, being traceable to the true source of its production, the words kapi and nampia still in common usage remain to be rectified.

Be it, therefore, declared to all servants of the Crown attached to the Palaces of the First and Second King, princes ennobled and as yet un-ennobled and the people of the realm that yuakoe and namkoe are the proper words to be used from now on in accordance with His Majesty's Royal Command.

It shall be the duty of the Ministries of Records, Interior, War and City Administration to serve notice of the foregoing Order to all princes ennobled and as yet un-ennobled, members of the Outer and Inner Palaces, servants of the Crown of higher and lower rank, both civil and military, and members of the Palaces of the First and Second King. The Amphur authorities shall likewise cause such Order to be announced and made known to the people of the realm."

Another notification on the same subject but of later date (No. 2) follows as appears in the Royal Gazette, the translation of which runs as follows:

"By Order under Privy Seal, Luang Siddhi, Royal Chamberlain, hereby declares that following the order given to the Nai Amphur to instruct the people in the Capital as to the proper use of the words yuakoe and namkoe, the Nai Amphur has since sent out criers to announce the same to the people. Nevertheless, notwithstanding such an announcement, the majority of the people in the Capital still use the words kapi and nampla as of old. Worse still, advantage is being taken by some rogues who, by impersonating the Nai Amphur, have, on many and increasing occasions, extorted money from the people.

Be it, therefore, declared that from now on the people may continue to use the words kapi and nampla as they have been used to do so from time immemorial, whilst the use of the words yuakoe and namkoe, previous notice whereof has been served, shall be res- tricted for reference by His Majesty's servants in Court language.

It shall be the duty of the Ministries of Interior, War and Records to instruct the Nai Amphur to the end that the Order above referred to be announced and made known to the people of the realm."

With that, I shall ask the audience to judge for itself whether King Mongkut was an autocrat or not, leaving alone for the time being his irritability.

The other paper I propose to read is a notification warning against the trustworthiness of newspaper publication on litigation which I hope will help to throw light on the subject under discussion. It proceeds thus wise :

"Dissatisfaction by the party concerned with any judgment in a case on trial in the City or outside it should be expressed by an appeal lodged with His Honour the Minister of the particular province or with the court where the case is on trial, whereby charges may be made that the judgment was given through negligence, error or mistake of facts. Wherefore, the Notification on

Petitions submitted to His Majesty has been published advising any person aggrieved, either by himself or an agency, to present Dika to His Majesty sitting in judgment at Suthai Savariya Palace.

Little attention, however, has been paid to the said published notification. Some of the parties aggrieved feel that their cause may better be served by going to the trouble and expense of getting their grievances published in the newspapers to the end that such diatribes as may be composed and presented therein may, through devious channels, reach the eye and ear of His Majesty.

Wherefore, notice is hereby given that His Majesty is not prepared to entertain such circuitous and reprehensible petitions. Publication in the newspapers of a slander against the judges is in itself an offence. The precedent of the petitioner Plab in the Chantaburi case cannot be followed because not only was Chantaburi inaccessible from the Divine City but personalities were involved in that case, etc.

The newspapers are raving about the trouble in the town of Samutsongrkram. Doubtless some of the facts published are true, such for instance as the trouble given to people by the town roughs, the cases of rape and murder which formed the subject of several Dika petitions, including the delay and obstruction practised during the course of trial in the court of that town, wherein punishment has been meted out to the offenders by His Majesty sitting in judgment, etc.

The King agrees that the conditions in Samutsongrkram are peculiarly obnoxious, but He cannot agree to investigate into unwarranted mummings in the newspapers. The proper procedure to follow is to appeal, by order of jurisdiction, to the governor and the town authorities, to the court trying the case and finally to the Court of Appeal in the Divine City. In the last resort, all cases tried in the City may be appealed by Dika petition to His Majesty sitting in judgment. Such being the proper procedure provided, no allowance can be made for complaints published in the newspapers or transmitted by anonymous letters.

Newspapers usually believe the stories of people who have reached the end of their wits. Particularly speaking, in regards to dead cases thrown out of Court for the lack of merit, such carcasses of law are picked up and put into the newspapers in efforts spent by hook or by crook to gain revival, the futility whereof is all too apparent. It is better for a man to have a clean heart than a clean body: for in a clean heart lies the man. Whereas a man with a dirty mind is no man and our association with him is no better than our association with monkeys. Out of kindness and consideration we throw bananas and sugar canes to the monkeys, but we love them not as brothers, etc."

In this connection, one must admit that His Majesty's language is anything but mild. We have not been able to find out how violent the provocation was. But reading King Mongkut's forceful outburst of righteous indignation one cannot help being gently reminded of the great saying, "I entirely disapprove of what you say but will defend to death your right to say it."

Having now got properly warmed up, I am afraid I cannot resist the temptation to read a few more papers on the subject in question. A modern student of popular government would be surprised to hear that an election took place here in this country nearly a hundred years ago, long before the introduction of Constitutions and coups d'etat. But that is exactly what took place in the reign of King Mongkut as appears in the paper which I now propose to read.

"By Royal Command, Reverberating like the Roar of a Lion: The bearer whereof, Chao Phraya Dharmma Dhigornuadhibodi Srisuvira Mahamatwongse Rajabongse Nigornnuraks Mahaswami-bhak Boromrajopakarabhinomya Sarabododomkichavan Mahamon-thirabai Bodirajamives Nintramatya Antepurikannath Senabodi Aphai-biriyakrombahu."

I hope you will pardon me if I pause for breath here and take the opportunity to inform our foreign friends present that what

I have just read is only the name of the countersigning Minister. From there I go on :

“Being the Minister of the Royal Household, hereby declares to all princes of the Royal House whether ennobled or as yet un-ennobled and servants of the Crown, being Chao Phrayas, Phrayas, Phras or Luangs attached to the Palace of the First or Second King as follows :

Whereas the Maharajkuru Parohitachariya (Tong Dee) and the Maharajkuru Mahidhorn (Oo) having passed away, the appointment of their successors may be made by His Majesty in consultation with a few princes and ministers in the manner of existing custom. However, His Majesty has graciously considered that the posts of Maharajkuru Parohitachariya and Maharajkuru Mahidhorn are posts of great importance, the incumbents of which being judges of fact on whose judgment lies the issue affecting the happiness or sorrow of the people. Moreover, it has been reported to His Majesty that in accordance with the practice obtaining in other countries persons to be appointed by the Ruler as judges are first elected by the people, whereby only the choices of the people are assigned to the task of sitting in their judgment. Being graciously desirous of promoting the peace, prosperity and happiness of the people of the realm, His Majesty deems fit to modify existing custom in favour of such an election.

Wherefore, be it declared to all princes of the Royal House, whether ennobled or as yet un-ennobled and to servants of the Crown, being Chao Phrayas, Phrayas, Phras or Luangs attached to the Palace of the First King or Second King that they are invited to make their choice in the coming election, whereby the vacancies in the posts of Maharajkuru Parohitachariya and Maharajkuru Mahidhorn will be filled. In making his choice, the elector is requested to put down in writing his own name and the names of the persons he elects to the two posts just mentioned. No one is obliged to make his choice among the servants of the Crown attached to the Palaces of the First and Second King. On the

contrary, any person, even though he be a slave, who is believed to be so sufficiently possessed of wisdom and restraint as to be able to give clear and satisfactory judgment in accordance with truth, justice and the law may be elected as judge.

Election slips will be distributed to all the princes and servants of the Crown by the officers of the Department of His Majesty's Secretary, with the request that each prince and servant of the Crown may please fill in one slip only and return the same to His Majesty. The princes and servants of the Crown are further requested not to treat this election as a joke. Nor should they rilly—dally, thinking that perhaps their choice would not meet with His Majesty's approval, or that perchance they would lose face if whomever they elected were rejected by other electors. Such a habit of thought should be entirely discarded. For human hearts vary one from the other, and well may the choices in the election differ because it is His Majesty's wishes that they be freely made. And whomever being chosen by the majority of the electors will be confirmed to the posts of the Maharaajkuru, etc."

If any lingering doubts are entertained concerning King Mongkut's autocratic tendencies, I suggest that we study the Edict Forbidding the Use of Crossbows during Royal Procession in which the king shows clear proof of his preference for liberty, equality and fraternity under law. This edict was published on Sunday the 7th of the Waxing Moon of the Ninth Month in the Year of the Small Snake, being the 9th in the Decade. I shall read extracts from it as follows:

"By Royal Command, Reverberating like the Roar of a Lion:

The bearer whereof, borne reverently on his head, one Chao Phraya Yomraj etc. etc. hereby declares to all servants of the Crown, both civil and military, of the Inner and Outer Palaces and to all the Thai people, as well as to Chinese, Peguans, Laos, Cambodians, Annamites, other foreign Asiatics, Burmese and Portuguese settlers:

M.R. SENI PRAMOJ

Whereas in accordance with the law, decrees, custom and usage of the Kingdom of Siam dating back to the time of Davaravadi, the Divine and Invincible City, now commonly referred to as the Old Capital, whenever and wherever His Majesty the King proceeds by land, He is preceded by a horse guard armed with cross-bows, bows, and arrows and spears. The said horse guard is followed in succession by His Majesty's personal guards armed with rattan canes, lances and swords who proceed immediately before His Majesty's royal carriage. And whereas when the royal journey is taken by water the same cross-bows, together with guns and bludgeons are carried in the inner flotillas as well as in the advance and flanking flotillas. Any boat which crosses the line of the royal barge or speeds abreast the procession renders its owner liable to the punishment prescribed by law. Moreover, any person who shows disrespect by walking, standing or looking out of the window at the moment when the royal procession passes his way is, by law and custom, liable to be shot at by the sergeant-at-cross-bow proceeding in the said horse guard or flotilla.

However, with the passage of time and on the occasion of His Late Majesty the Protector of Faith, the Wisdom Personified, the King of Kings in All the Lands and Sky (Rama II) returning by water procession after the performance of the annual rite of presenting priestly robes at Wat Nang and Wat Nang Nong monasteries, a sergeant-at-cross-bow in the advance flotilla shot at and wounded a woman in the eye. Whereupon His Late Majesty immediately ordered the royal barge to stop and commanded one Luang Dibayanetr, Royal Eye Physician, proceeding in the royal retinue to examine the woman. Upon the said physician reporting to His Late Majesty that the woman's eye was hit by a shot from the cross-bow and damaged beyond repair, His Late Majesty ordered compensation in money and cloth for wear awarded to the injured woman. Owing to this unfortunate incident His Late Majesty did graciously pass an Act forbidding sergeants-at-cross-bow proceeding in any royal procession to discharge their missiles on the people. Although cross-bows are still carried in royal processions in accordance with the

custom, the sergesants being permitted to make use of the same only for threatening purposes at persons who show disrespect, no one now has been discharged at people as from the passing of the said Act. Wherefore, His Majesty deems fit to confirm the Act aforesaid, whereunder any sergesant-at-cross-bow proceeding in a royal procession found guilty of discharging his weapon at the people will be punished under the Act and a reasonable compensation will be awarded to the injured party.

And whereas it has been brought to the attention of His Majesty King Mongkut that wherever His Majesty should choose to proceed by land or water, the occasion would inevitably be taken by the City authorities, the Met Atraphut and all the rest of the officials to chase His Majesty's subjects out of His way and, further, to order them to close all the doors and windows in their houses, towns, houses and shops, whereby not the least little danger is avoided. Such a practice is graciously considered by His Majesty to be more harmful than good. In the first place, those among the people who are acquainted with His Majesty are shut out of His sight. In the second place, the houses and shops with closed doors and windows provide the best hiding place for those who wish to hide, among whom no one can distinguish between the sane and the insane. Wherefore, it is hereby provided that the practice aforesaid shall be discontinued as from now on. Henceforth no one of the people gathered along the route of the royal procession shall be chased away, nor shall doors and windows of the people's houses, town-houses or shops be ordered to be closed at the passing of the procession, but all householders shall, on such an occasion, be permitted to appear before the sight of His Majesty, so that He may graciously take the opportunity to speak to those of His subjects among them some such words of greeting as to gladden their hearts, etc.

As for the etiquette to be observed at the passing of the royal procession by water, the owners of the houses, boat-houses and shops along the route should present themselves before His Majesty at such places as suitable for the performance of the act of prostration. Should any petty boat be found by a householdier as

the moment when the royal procession appears within sight to be crossing the line of the procession or running abreast the procession, the householder shall caution it to stay aside. In the event of the operator of the boat so crossing the line of or running abreast the royal procession being a Chinese newly arrived or a foreign Asiatic or a Farang who is ignorant of the Thai custom and language, sign language shall be employed to caution him. If the householder himself is a Chinese he may, at the passing of the royal procession, choose either to prostrate himself in accordance with the Thai custom or to stand and kowtow in such a manner as a Chinese would stand and bow to his Emperor. The same act of prostration is permissible to a Farang who prefers the Thai custom. Should he prefer to stand up, take off his hat and bow or salute in the custom of his country or in the manner of a foreign Asiatic, let him be. No officer proceeding in the royal procession, no City authorities or Nai Amphur or any of the officers responsible for maintaining order among the crowd, nor any one among the Thai people in attendance on His Majesty shall forbid him his choice or force him to do homage against his own custom and inclination, etc."

I do not think the audience would like me to add anything to that other than that it is entirely heart warming.

Speaking about King Mongkut one cannot avoid referring to that celebrated publication "Anna and the King of Siam". No doubt the King owes much of his present western fame to two ladies, the dead Anna and the living authoress who brought her back to life. And on the top of that Hollywood has since crowned the efforts of the two good ladies with the supreme favour of a super production. However, some of the incidents reproduced in the book and the film really take us Thais by surprise. Instead of appearing creditably as incidents from a historical novel we find that they provide us with such interesting, though somewhat apocryphal and novel a history, especially the incident of burning people at the stake. You will find an account related by King Mongkut himself, as a matter of course, in one of his private letters to Chamun Sarapeth Bhakdi,

His Second Ambassador in London, which furnishes an anti-climax to the whole exciting show. It appears from this royal correspondence that when one of the King's women had been abducted by a man from a royal boat, after arrest, trial and conviction, instead of being burnt at the stake or made to suffer such other outlandish consequences as might be picturesquely speculated, the man was fined by a sum of a little over one cati worth of money which at the present rate of open market exchange amounts to only about one pound and ten shillings or roughly six United States dollars! That is a very cheap fine to pay for abducting a King's woman. Here is the translation of the letter I refer to of which I shall read only the concluding passage as follows:

"As regards the case of Phra Indradit who committed adultery with your wife, Sarapeth, I have ordered the judges to hold a trial. They have decided on a fine and compensation amounting to over 28 catis of money. The fine will not be paid over to the Government as revenue but will be paid to you as compensation, since I have sent you far away from home."

Then follows the royal consolation for the Ambassador and the anti-climax to the M-G-M show.

"I should like to bring to your notice," concluded His Majesty, "the fact that the amount of fine awarded by the Court in the case of abduction of one of the King's women from a royal boat was a little more than one cati of money only."

I have another paper to illustrate King Mongkut's personal dislike of the Joan-of-Arc-treatment for people. This is a proclamation concerning religious freedom and superstitious practices issued in the year of the Horse, being the completing year of the Decade. By this declaration the King not only deprecated the practice of burning live people but also scaled the height of liberal idealism with his sentiments on religious freedom, and perhaps by that very expression preceded the United Nations Declaration on the same subject by a matter of nearly one hundred years.

With your permission I shall now read the famous proclamation of King Mongkut.

"Whereas no just ruler restricts the freedom of his people in the choice of their religious belief wherewith each man hopes to find strength and salvation in his last hour as well as in the future beyond;

And whereas there are many precepts common to all religions, such for instances as the injunctions not to kill, nor steal, nor commit adultery, nor speak falsehood, nor partake of intoxicating liquor, and the advices to forbear anger, to be kind and truthful, to practise gratitude and generosity and to perform innumerable other merits which mankind of whatever race and language hold to be good, true and righteous.

Wherefore, in the exercise of the said freedom of religion some persons do commit acts which are inconsistent with policy, although such acts may appear to be praise-worthy in the eye of those who are about to lose their mind, having been led to believe in the merit of such acts by reports and hearsay or by the scattered-brain and aberring sermon of some priests unlearned in the Holy 'Tripitaka, whose mind is about to go as well. Such for instance as the acts of committing oneself to the fire in worship of the Triple Gems, of presenting one's severed head as token of veneration to the Buddha, of offering one's blood collected from self-inflicted wounds as burning oil for the temple lamp and others are oft performed to the surprise and consternation of the Government. One glaring example of such misplaced religious fervour is the case of the novice Sak who committed himself to the fire at Wat Hongsaram; another example is that of Nai Rueng and Nai Nok doing the same thing before the Buddha of Wat Arun Vararam; still another example is that of a nun burning herself to ashes in worship of the Buddha's Footprints. Just rulers and wise men in all the lands and religious faiths find in such self-destructive acts nothing but an expression of worthless credulity. Such being the irrational acts of a lunatic or of a person about to lose his reason, none should be taken as meritorious under the Buddhist teaching, etc.

And whereas women who for a long time have been divorced from their husbands or whose husbands have been dead, including spinsters who have never met their mates are prone to choose hachelors for their husbands. As the masses of laymen are occupied in matrimony, the only field left open for such women to exercise their energy is the monastery. The institution is a place where the priests are kept confined to long celibacy, thus capable of providing the ladies with brand new husbands. Even more so are the priests looked upon as a fattened hog, for indeed many of them have grown great in fame and wealth, having been promoted to the rank of Head Priest with the title of nobility, awarded their degrees and royal grants, and what with a worldly offering here in a sum of money at a public preaching and another such an offering there at a cremation or official function, such a pile of fennings, saluings, taelis and bahts as accumulated by them may be had for the convenient taking after their being lured into matrimony.

That the priests are expected to fall easy victims is because they are likely to be driven crazy by their newly found love. For this reason the artful ladies would place their son in the custody of their prospective catch, or assign a grown kinsman or neighbour to wait in attendance on the priest, whereby their line of communication and intelligence being firmly established, they would feed through that channel all the toothsome tidbits and choice delicacies calculated to break down the resistance of the holy brother they intend to victimize. The result is invariably as might be expected. For the priest, having been favoured with such kindnesses, would begin to show signs of weakness, first by getting on terms of civil intimacy with his benefactress, calling her Milady Benefactress at the House, at the Boat-House or at the Building up North or South, as the case may be. Later, having divested himself of the yellow robe, the man would be wedded to the benefactress under consideration, or to her sister or daughter as suits the convenience. Worse still, sometimes the said civil intimacy oversteps its bounds and the crime of fornication is committed in defiance of the Yellow Robe. That some women prefer priests for their husbands, whilst some

priests, having left the monastery, prefer divorcees, widows and spinsters as wives is a rule which finds so wide and general an application that to go into enumeration of the actual cases would not only be a waste of time, but would also offend the ear in its susceptibility, as well as antagonize the persons with the guilty conscience.

Be this, therefore, given as a warning, that His Majesty is firmly resolved to preserve the purity of the Holy Order, so that it may continue to be a help and guidance to His people, for whom He ever wishes a long life in coolness and felicity. Be it hereby declared, therefore, that henceforth any woman charged with the crime of fornication with a priest, or any priest charged with the like crime with a woman being divorced from her husband, a widow or a spinster, upon being found guilty will be punished under the Act."

So much for King Mongkut's autocratic temper. But what about his domestic excesses which, perhaps, have earned for him a certain amount of unwanted publicity. It is an accepted fact that the number of the King's wives was truly astronomical. However, far from being a mark of immorality polygamy in the Thai Court of those days was also an accepted fact. So far as royalties were concerned, it served as a handy political weapon. For, whenever a prince or noble was suspected of intriguing against the Throne all that the King had to do was to take one of the suspect's daughters to wife. That would have the desired effect of putting an end to any incipient revolution. The reason was quite obvious then. It was simply not "cricket" to rebel against one's in-laws. Thus it had come to pass that although all the King's wives got their share in the way of public honour and office, not all of them received the King's private attention. Strangely enough, polygamy was sanctioned by the women themselves, being realists one and all these worthy ladies of old Siam. They must have realised that polygamy, like charity, must begin at home, otherwise it would begin and beget itself elsewhere to their own material disadvantage and spiritual discomfort.

Be that as it may, it is a point of interest to note that King Mongkut was the first Thai monarch to break the age-old custom and palatine law by permitting the Palace ladies to resign in favour of private matrimony. In one of the proclamations issued in his reign the King virtually declared that he had so many wives that anybody could have them for the picking. So far so good for the idealist and philosopher in the King. But when twelve of the Palace ladies actually resigned one finds that His Majesty was not so pleased with them after all and the references he gave them on leaving the service were not as brilliant as the ladies themselves might have expected.

I now refer you to two illuminating papers on this very intriguing subject. First we have the Proclamation Pledging Royal Permit to Ladies of the Inner Palace to Resign, issued on Thursday the 3rd of the Waxing Moon of the First Month in the Year of the Tiger, being the 6th in the Decade which declares as follows:

"His Majesty King Phra Chom Klao is graciously pleased to pledge his Royal Permit, bound in truth and veracity, to all Lady Consorts serving in the Inner Palace, Middle Palace and Outer Palace, excepting Mother Consorts of the royal children, as well as to Forbidden Ladies of all ranks, Ladies Chaperon and Chaperons and all Palace Dancers and Concubines as follows:

Whereas it is no longer the desire of His Majesty to possess, by means of threat or detention, any of the ladies above referred to. Wherefore, that it has been His Majesty's pleasure to support them and to bestow on them annuities, annual gifts of raiment and various mark of honour and title befitting their station. This is due to the regards He entertains for the honour of their families and the merit of their own service.

Should any of the ladies, having long served His Majesty, suffer discomfort and desire to resign from the Service in order to reside with a prince or noble or to return home to live with their parents, or to dispel such discomfort by the company of a private

husband and children, let her suffer no qualms. For if a resignation be directly submitted to His Majesty by the lady accompanied by the surrender of her decorations, her wishes will be graciously granted, provided always that whilst still in the Service and before submitting such a resignation the lady shall refrain from the act of associating herself with love agents, secret lovers or clandestine husbands by any means or artifice whatsoever. For such a misbehaviour would prejudice the immemorial custom of the land. Moreover, after resigning from the Service, should the ladies belonging to any of the ancient Houses proceed to reside with their parents or other members of their family, or join in matrimony with the Higher Princes or be wedded to high ranking servants of the Crown, His Majesty would be pleased to continue paying some of them annuities of a reasonable amount.

As for the Ladies Consort serving in the Inner Palace who, although finding in the application of the law much cause for constricted heart and life therein a veritable source of ennui, are still ashamed to put in their resignation, should they desire to be demoted, be it to the service in the Middle or Outer Palace, or even to the service in the rank of a Forbidden Lady, and there to continue in loyal service to His Majesty befitting their new assignment, they shall please do so as they wish; provided that His Majesty shall first be informed and that before presenting such a request for demotion the ladies in question shall refrain from abandoning themselves to laxity unworthy of the dignity of their office, etc.

However, the Mother Consorts of the royal children can in no case be permitted to resign in favour of matrimony because such an action will prejudice the dignity of the royal children. In this case resignation is only permissible if the purpose is restricted to residence with the royal children unaccompanied by matrimony.

The said royal intention, in spite of repeated declarations to the same effect as above stated, seems to make little progress with popular credence, it being mistaken either as a joke or a sarcastic remark. Since in truth and veracity His Majesty bears such an

special assignment. The fourth lady served as one of Miladies of the Lamp. In the present reign the first two above named were moved down to serve as Miladies of the Lamp and Tea Service, whilst the third was moved up to the Royal Bed Chamber. The last of the above-named, however, remained in her former post, and having expressed her wishes to seek physical and spiritual comfort outside the Royal Palace, was granted leave to resign.

1. Liem, daughter of Phraya Rajbhakdi, age 21
2. Poom, daughter of Phraya Prachachib (Kratat), age 16
3. Khib, daughter of Phraya Prachachib (Kratat), age 15
4. Sangwal, daughter of Phra Rajsompai, age 18
5. Trig, daughter of Luang Udom Chinda, age 16
6. Liam, daughter of Luang Udaï Nabhikorn, age 15
7. Sarapi, daughter of the late Khun Burindr, age 15
8. Pun, daughter of Khun Chamnan Kadi, age 15

The eight ladies above referred to entered the Service in the present Reign. The first lady served as Milady of the Royal Sword, but had to resign on being stricken with a nervous break-down. The second and third ladies entered the Service after the death of their father for the purpose of getting a larger share in the inheritance of the deceased for the reason of having entered into His Majesty's Service. Having been awarded their duly increased shares of the inheritance, they resigned. The rest on the list are gifted dancers. A difference of opinion arose with regard to the fourth and fifth ladies. Their respective fathers wanted them to remain in the Service, but the ladies themselves and their respective mothers decided in favour of resignation. Wherefore, His Majesty gave them leave to resign. The sixth lady was much feared in the Palace for her dangerous eye and ear. After a violent quarrel with her friends in the Palace she was permitted to resign on the approval of her parents. As for the seventh on the list, the lady was possessed of doubtful beauty. Her mannerism was altogether over-cultivated. Considering that she might be desirable in the eye of someone who desired her, His Majesty graciously granted her leave to resign.

"The eighth and last lady on the list was afflicted with the malady of feet band, and having been found by responsible persons in the Palace to be untrust worthy with valuables and such like, was advised to resign from the Service.

"The twelve ladies above named are now resigned from the Palace and are wholly free to pledge their service to any prince or noble. Should there be any such a prince or noble who would desire any of them in marriage, His Majesty would gladly and sincerely offer them congratulations. That a man should be free to choose a woman of his heart's desire as his wife is the wish of His Majesty, and so happy He will feel to know that the satisfaction of any such man is shared by any of the ladies who recently resigned. In fact, His Majesty might have gone one step further by graciously giving the said ladies away in marriage; but He was restrained by the consideration that He might have erred in His choice to the dismay of the parties concerned. Wherefore, the present middle course has been adopted in the hope that the honour and liberality of His Majesty will be firmly established in the newly founded custom."

Your Highness and Chairman, time is getting short and I fear the audience might justifiably complain to you, Sir, that the speaker for to-day has deviated too far from his theme of King Mongkut as a legislator. I must pause here, therefore, to say that I am coming to that subject presently and to consult your pleasure, your Highness, as to the advisability of my proceeding.

I gather from your gesture of approbation that I am directed to go on with the address, for the length of which I crave the indulgence of your Highness and this distinguished audience. Although, notwithstanding your Highness' kind reference to his lineage, he is but a distant and indirect descendant of King Mongkut, what your speaker feels in his bones to descend very closely and directly on him from the King, with the whole weight of inescapable Fate itself, is the heritage of His Late Majesty's interminable rambling.

King Mongkut, as a legislator, was as prolific as he was in the role of a husband and father. His total output in legislative production adds up to something like five hundred juridical pronouncements. As might be expected of a man of his vitality and gifted imagination the King ranged the whole expanse of legislative field covered by his predecessors. With a relaxation of the law on lese-majesté here, an amendment of the law on property, marriage and inheritance there, and again a modification of the archaic law on procedure, King Mongkut rapidly allied up four solid volumes before his startled subjects actually realised that a great bloodless revolution was brought about by the sheer trick of His Majesty's juggling with jurisprudence.

"Time does not permit me to go into the matter in detail. However, as examples of King Mongkut's, shall we say, candid legislation which, like a candid camera, helps to portray, with great clarity and ingenuousness, the life and customs of his time, I propose to read to you three of the King's legislative works, one dealing with drunkenness, another with municipal administration, the third being the famous Act on Abduction which is well known to all students of law in this country.

I refer you now to the following notification issued on Sunday the 14th of the Waxing Moon of the Fifth Month in the Year of the Horse dealing with New Year drunks:

"Whereas in accordance with the custom observed from time immemorial, on the occasion of celebrating the arrival of new year, by far the greater majority of manhood, partly consisting of rogues and ruffians, see fit to get themselves drunk all over the place; These revellers drink their way on to the highway and even naughtily into the temple and monastery, leaving in their wake scattered remnants of drunken brawl, assault, battery and mayhem. With the celebration running into eleven days altogether, that is to say, five days in honour of the lunar year, with three days for actual celebration, one day for preparation and another day for the send-off and six days in honour of the solar year, with three or four days

For actual celebration, one or two days for preparation and another day or two for the send-off, the countless cases of drunken brawl, assault, battery and mayhem occurring within and without the City wall are beyond the power of the Nai Amphur and the police to cope with.

Wherefore, it shall be the duty of every householder, as from now on, to seize all persons getting drunk and disorderly in front of his house and deliver the same to the police at the prison gate while they are still in the state of insobriety. The performance of such a duty shall be made only by the householder in front of whose house the person to be seized shall have been getting drunk and disorderly, and no neighbours of his shall be permitted to render assistance. If upon delivery the person seized in the said manner is found to be drunk by the police the householder who makes the delivery shall not be made answerable even were the person seized and so delivered is found bodily hurt or wounded. In order to prevent a possible rescue of the person thus seized for delivery while being taken on the way to the police, the householder may detain him at his house, pending the immediate examination by the Nai Amphur or the police into his state of sobriety, which examination shall be conducted immediately. Drunken revelers during the New Year celebration are hereby warned to confine their hilarity within the limits of their household, and any urgent business which they may wish to perform abroad before they get over the reaction of their over indulgence must wait until they are sober."

After having published the above notification for the benefit of the common people, the King found that two high ranking members of his own family also joined in the celebration which they were in the habit of extending throughout the year. How King Mongkut faced his problem can be studied from the following notification of a later date.

"Notice is hereby given to all servants of the Crown attached to the Ministry of the Royal Household that the Prince D., and the Prince A., are in the habit of getting drunk whilst resident within

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the confines of their respective palaces. Wherefore, with the exception of the Officers of the Oars and Lawn Sweepers under the command of the Prince D. and the officers of the Rifles and Arsenal under the command of the Prince A., no person is permitted to enter into the palaces of the said princes for any purpose whatsoever. This injunction applies even in the case where the person seeking entry is summoned by the order of either one of the princes. Upon such an order being made the person summoned shall attend on the prince only when he puts in appearance at the Royal Palace. The purpose of this injunction is to prevent the caller at the said palace from becoming an object of the prince's sudden outburst, whereby uncontrollable acts of violence might be committed by the prince on the person of the caller without any justification. As by law the presumption in the case of a brawl committed within a household lies against the caller, the case will go still harder against him were the caller to get either involved in a scuffle within the palace of either one of the princes. Be it clearly brought to the attention of all likely callers at the palaces aforesaid that the princes hardly ever get sober. Wherefore, no one is guaranteed a safe and uneventful visit thereto. Even those who come under the exemption, namely the Officers of the Oars and Lawn Sweepers and the Officers of the Rifles and Arsenal, are advised to exercise due care and prudence on the occasion of their attendance, official or otherwise, on either one of the said princes. Whilst the princes are on the rampage, they had better stay outside. Should the attendance be possible on the abatement of the princes' temper, they are to get into argument with either one of the dignitaries at their own risk. Even when an urgent call must be made, such for instance as when bearing a Royal Command, seeking an audience with the princes on affairs of State or conveying the official bulletin concerning the state of His Majesty's health, it really matters not whether either one of the princes can be approached. Upon the failure of such an expedition His Majesty is to be informed without delay so that a request may be made to the prince concerned to

put in a personal appearance at the Royal Palace. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the presumption of law above referred to cannot be raised against the bearer of Royal Command. Further, the presumption does not apply in the case where a caller appears at a palace or household at the request or invitation of the owner thereof. Trespass, whereby the said presumption may be raised, takes place only when the caller puts in appearance without leave or licence of the house-holder."

With your permission I will now read the Notification concerning His Majesty's Advises on the Inelegant Practice of Throwing Dead Animals into the Waterway, the Construction of Fire-places and the Manipulation of Window Wedge.

"By Royal Command, Reverberating like the Roar of a Lion,

Be it declared to all servants of the Crown of higher and lower rank and to the people of the realm as follows:

Whereas it has been brought to the attention of His Majesty that in the words of foreigners and provincials who are Laos, Cambodians and dwellers in the upland who draw their supply of water from wells, as well as other peoples, the inhabitants of the City Divine are great polluters of water. For it is said that the Divine City dwellers do dishonour to their own city by throwing carcasses of dead animals into the river and canals where they float up and down in great abomination, and that having thus contaminated the water, the City dwellers themselves do make an inelegant habit of constantly using the same water for purposes of drinking and ablution.

Wherefore, His Majesty is graciously pleased to advise that under no circumstances whatsoever should any person allow himself to throw a dead dog, a dead cat or the carcass of any other dead animal into the river or canal, whether big or small. The people are requested to have such carcasses disposed of in the proper burial ground by the agency of those whom they can command or hire or whose kindness and good offices they can solicit to accomplish the

task in question. Should the people find it inconvenient to proceed from their homes by the waterway to a distant burial ground for the purpose, they are required to bury the offensive carcasses on the spot and to bury them deep enough so as to prevent their escape on to the waterway where they will float up and down in great abomination.

By the exercise of a little imagination it should not be too difficult to perceive that other people using the water along the waterway do object to such an exhibition. Were provincial priests and novices from the Lao country and other northern districts or other country gentry to pay a visit to the Divine City and find the said objectionable custom still in practice, they would undoubtedly carry away the impression that conditions inside the City are not as healthy as outside it, the water supply in the City being so unclean as to breed in the dwellers thereof a number of unhappy ailments. The same or similar impression would be given to Englishmen, Chinese and other foreign Asiatics who come to do business in the Divine City.

Appeal is, therefore, made to the better instincts and humanity of City dwellers who are requested not to throw carcasses of dead animals into the waterway to the revulsion of their fellow dwellers. Henceforth, should any person disregard His Majesty's gracious advice and still allow himself to practise the said inelegant habit as heretofore he shall, after due testimony being given against him by his neighbours, be conducted in ignominy around the City by the Nai Amphur so that the spectacle may serve as a sorry warning to others against committing such an inhumane and irresponsible act of water pollution.

Again, by nature and habit, the Siamese are financially self-contained and of limited liberality. There are some among them rich enough to construct a brick building for themselves for habitation who prefer to live in a shack made of inflammable attap palms, split bamboos and wood than to allow themselves what

seems to them an unnecessary expenditure of constructing a brick-building for the purpose of habitation. However, in such inflammable a habitation these people are in the habit of building a fire-place near the inflammable partition or the pile of faggots used for cooking purposes where, having built a fire and being unable to exercise an uninterrupted vigilance over it owing to various other affairs engaging their attention, conflagration frequently occurs through negligence to the loss and suffering of the neighbourhood. Wherefore, His Majesty, being graciously concerned about the welfare of His people and desirous of taking measures to prevent such conflagration from occurring, whereby property is destroyed by fire, lost during graceless removal or stolen in the confusion, as well as putting the people to a great expense of building new houses, has deemed fit to give the following advice:

From now on house-holders are required to build their fire-place not too near the inflammable partition and to build it with bricks, lime or earth after the model fire-place which is placed on exhibition at the Royal Field by the Twin Buildings bordering the main avenue. Should the poorer people find it too costly to copy the model for use in their house-hold, they are requested to give the partition near the fire-place a coating of mixture of earth, clay and paddy husks, and also to remove the pile of faggots to a safe distance from the fire-place, as well as to exercise great care to prevent fire. The police will be instructed to examine every house in the City and to order the vacation by the owner of any house found to be a source of danger from failure to follow His Majesty's advice. The possession of the house thus vacated will be made over to some other person who is able to exercise greater diligence.

Finally, in the matter of preserving the peace of the realm, it transpires that cases of burglary and house-breaking regularly conform to a strange and identical pattern, that is to say, the burglar would ascend the window by a ladder, cut a hole in the partition wall, lift the window wedge and enter the somnolent household to make leisurely appropriation of gold and silver articles

to be found for the unlawful taking. Wherefore, His Majesty deems fit to advise His people to keep moving the window wedge beyond the reach of the burglar's guessing, that is to say, by the tactic of sometimes inserting it at the top or bottom of the window and placing it at other times side-wise, or otherwise manipulating the window wedge in such a manner as a man of prudence and ingenuity would employ in safeguarding his property against burglary. Let the people be more loyally bound to His Majesty in grace and gratitude and let them carry out His benevolent advice. And may peace, prosperity and happiness reign over the people now and forever-more."

I now come to the Act on Abduction, the somewhat lengthy reading of which will, I hope, give you a true idea of what I call King Mongkut's candid legislation.

"Act on Abduction

By Royal Command, Reverberating like the Roar of a Lion,

Be it declared to all judges of fact and justices of law and to the people of the realm as follows :

Whereas on Sunday, the 7th of the Waning Moon of the First Month in the Year of the Cow, being the 7th Year in the Decade, a Dika petition was presented before His Majesty the King sitting in judgment at Suthai Sawariya Palace, with the following complaint :

I, the slave of our Lord Buddha, one Muen, age twenty-one years, residing at Bang Mueng in the town of Nondhaburi, being the daughter of Nai Ged and Noom and Thine humble petitioner, with sorrow and fear, hereby submit my prayer to the dust of Thine feet and myself to Thine gracious jurisdiction.

Whereas I was first in love with and was compromised to one Nai Rid with the knowledge of my parents. Then in the Fourth Month of the Year of the Rat, the sixth in the Decade, one Nai Boo appointed a love agent to my parents to ask for my hand

in marriage. Upon learning that my parents gave their consent to the said Nai Boo's proposal I protested. Whereupon my parents exercised their anger and scolded as well as beat me. Thereafter at twilight on the 11th of the Waning Moon in the same month the said Nai Boo, with the knowledge and approval of my parents, forcibly took me to his house and attempted to force me into his room. Thine humble petitioner lustily resisted and sat out on the veranda until dawn, where I was found by many in the neighbourhood. Upon my returning to the house of my parents I was again scolded and beaten by them who wished me to consent to become Nai Boo's wife. Again my parents permitted Nai Boo to take me by force to his house. This time Thine humble petitioner refused to ascend the ladders of Nai Boo's house, and yet again returned to the house of my parents. Whereupon, my parents were so exercised in their anger that they threatened to shoot me dead with a gun if I did not consent to become Nai Boo's wife. Fearing the peril of my life I fled to the house of Nai Rid, my lover. Two or three days thereafter, upon my parents sending words to Nai Rid that he might appoint a love agent taking incense and candles to ask their pardon, Nai Rid did gladly follow their instructions. But upon the agent's arrival at my parents' house he was taken to the house of the Kamnan and there was promptly placed under attachment by the Kamnan at the request of Nai Boo who was present in waiting. Thereafter, in the Seventh Month of the Year of the Cow, the 6th in the Decade, after a writ of summons has been issued by His Honour Luang Siam Nondhakhet calling upon Thine humble petitioner, Nai Rid and his parents to put in appearance at the Town Building, I appeared and gave my deposition in reply to the question put to me by the Chief Deputy that I was never in love with Nai Boo and would never consent to become his wife. Wherefore, Phra Nondhaburi, the Chief Deputy of the town, proposed as a compromise that if Nai Boo could swear against my deposition, his case would be upheld against Nai Rid, but Nai Boo did not consent to swear. Again another compromise was proposed that upon my swearing to my deposition the case of Nai Boo would be dismissed,

and again Nai Boo refused to accept the proposal. Then on the 2nd of the Waxing Moon in the Eighth Month, the Year of the Cow, being the 7th in the Decade, he, Nai Boo, proceeded to bring a charge against Nai Rid, as well as the latter's parents and two named love agents. Upon the Appearance of the defendants on a writ of summons they were ordered to deliver my person to the custody of the judges pending trial. As for Thine humble petitioner, having testified before the judges in truth and veracity that I had never consented to be the wife of Nai Boo, I was arrested by one Nai Piam, the gaoler, and was then thrown into prison. There my mother appeared, and with threat and vituperation yet again attempted to force me into marriage with Nai Boo, which again failed for the lack of my consent. In the meantime Thine humble petitioner appealed to the judges to proceed with the trial, because whilst in prison Nai Piam, the gaoler, maliciously made me perform all kinds of hard labour. Wherefore, having reached the end of my endurance, I escaped from the prison to submit to His Majesty the King this humble Dika and myself to His gracious jurisdiction. I declare that I will never consent to be the wife of Nai Boo. I choose to take Nai Rid, my lover, as my husband. May Thine grace and benevolence be my salvation. Thine will be done. Your humble petitioner.

Having examined the Dika, His Majesty has graciously endorsed the same to the effect that if the facts as stated therein are found not to be too far from the truth, Chamun Rajamatya and Nai Rod Mon, Royal Page, shall proceed to Nondhaburi and award the woman petitioner to her lover as wife. For at the age of twenty a woman is old enough to be able freely to choose a husband for herself. It is provided, however, that the husband in this case shall be made liable to pay damages of one cati to the woman's parents, together with damages at the amount of ten taels to the other man to whom the bride was intended to be given in marriage by the parents, including cost of litigation to be paid by the husband as well. Wherefore, this case is dismissed for both parties, subject to the following amendments, in case the facts appeared beyond

KING MONGKUT AS A LEGISLATOR

those stated in the petition. In the first place, the averment that the parents who had given the hand of their daughter to one man in marriage were obliged to allow the same man twice and forcibly to drag her to his house appears somewhat unusual. It gives rise to the suspicion that they might have made a written contract selling her into bondage to the man, for which reason they were obliged to permit the use of force by the buyer. If such be the truth, then a decision shall be given laying down the rule that no parents own their children as if they were cattle, which can be disposed of by sale at a price. Nor are children slaves belonging to parents who can be disposed of in the like manner as slaves are sold for the price of their bondage. Parents are not permitted to plead poverty in a sale of their children. Such a sale shall always be subject to the consent of the person being sold, and whatever the price being consented to by such a person shall be the price in the sale. Any old law to the contrary shall be hereby repealed. Wherefore, should the parents in this case have sold the woman to the man whose act of abduction they approved, whatever the price stipulated and paid to them in the transaction shall be reimbursed to the man accordingly, etc.

All issues of attachment and all actions by or against the love agents are hereby dismissed.

And whereas by existing custom a man is pleased to consider any woman his wife whom he is able secretly to compromise. So is the general belief of litigants and so has the Court passed judgments handing women over to the men by whom they have been compromised. These women are not animals. Even so, the old law concerning the freedom of divorce was once repealed. However, such a measure cannot be deemed to be just. For the choice of separation should be freely exerciseable by either the husband or the wife. Therefore, the old law is hereby confirmed, and all judgments on the status of a wife under the custom above referred to shall be revised to conform to the rule of free will in the woman.

And whereas any woman whose hand having been asked in marriage by a man and given by her parents, who consented to cohabit with the man, and thereafter the two of them have before the eyes of many other persons, lived together as husband and wife, joined in common happiness and sorrow, profit and loss, and in such a manner have long dwelled together for many days and many months, witnessed by all their friends and neighbours and unchallenged in their union, shall be judged the true and lawful wife of the man. In this case, however, such a period of time has not elapsed, wherefore the rule concerning the free will on the part of the woman has been followed. This rule is based on a previous judgement in the case where a mother sold her young daughter into bondage to Phraya Singharaj Ridhikrai, the father of Luang Sena Bhakdi. When the child grew up into womanhood, Luang Sena Bhakdi desired her for wife. However, her parents persuaded her to with-hold her consent and, with the permission of her master in bondage, the woman returned home to her parents, the latter repaying the price of bondage. Erelong the parents put the woman up for sale to some other man to be had for his wife. Whereupon the unwilling daughter presented a Dika petition seeking an order permitting her to return to Luang Sena Bhakdi in order to become his wife. The said Luang Sena Bhakdi was prepared to pay more for the woman than the original price of her bondage but less than the price demanded by the parents from the other man. It was decided by the King sitting in judgment that the wishes to be followed were those of the woman, not those of the parents or the man to whom the woman was offered for sale.

Some litigants to whom previous judgments have been awarded might complain that there is an inconsistency between the decisions in the foregoing cases and theirs. Such a complaint cannot be upheld. For the judgement in the other cases was based on the dignity of the nobles concerned. In one of these cases one Nai Thai, Royal Page, formerly holding the title of Nai Rong Ohid, and now promoted to the rank of Khun Nakornkhet Kasemsri, Assistant Deputy to the Right Department of Police, did ask for the hand of

the Mistress Sapaya, daughter of Phraya Debvorachun, in marriage. After their marriage, the two lived together in their matrimonial home, and the lady was later presented to His Majesty in Court by Lady Somsakdhi and received certain royal favours in grant. However, after a quarrel, Nai Rong Chid left Sapaya to stay at his paternal home, and thereafter continued to pay her but occasional and civil visits. It was during this period of time whilst Phraya Debvorachun, the father, was sent on His Majesty's Service to Nakorn Sri Dhamaraj that the woman committed adultery with one Pun Sorasidhi, an officer attached to the Department of His Majesty's Personal Guards. By coincidence Nai Rong Chid, the husband, paid one of his usual visits and on that occasion found the man in bed with his wife. Wherefore in deference to the fact that Sapaya was once presented in His Majesty's Court, Nai Rong Chid submitted the case to His Majesty's pleasure. His Majesty directed the judges to fine the adulterer in the amount calculated by the rank of Nai Rong Chid, the injured party. However, upon the request being made by the man and woman to live together, such a request being supported by the contention they had indemnified the injured party by payment of a large sum of money, it was decided by His Majesty sitting in judgment that Sapaya being the daughter of a man with the title of nobility, her request to live with her adulterer should be rejected. Moreover, Phraya Debvorachun was away at the time, and no one knew what he might have to say about the matter. Wherefore, Nai Baisal, Silk Wearer attached to the Palace of the Second King, and a number of Royal Pages who were the sons of Phraya Debvorachun were summoned to appear before His Majesty. A question was then put to them that Sapaya having been caught by her husband, Nai Rong Chid, in the act of committing adultery with Pun Sorasidhi, for which a fine had been duly paid, would the members of her family approve of her request to live with her adulterer and what would be the likely wishes of Phraya Debvorachun in the matter. One and all of the sons of the said Phraya Debvorachun submitted that they themselves would not

approve, and that they knew their father would strongly disapprove of such a request. Wherefore, Sapaya was committed to the custody of her brothers to await the pleasure of the father, Phraya Dehvorachun.

One would criticise this last judgment as drawing a distinction between the nobility and the common people. But far better it is to draw the distinction than to displease the nobility in these cases. Were the rule of free will to be followed with regard to their women these nobles would be stricken with surprise and mortification, whereby to see a judgment allowing any of their woman-folk to be brought to dust by the effrontery of a commoner would provoke in them a painful suspicion that the Ruler no longer upholds their honour and tradition. No amount of damages paid to them in compensation would assuage the pain of such a suspicion. Even were the compensation to amount to one hundred catis, having spoken their word of disapproval these nobles would never take it back. The judge in such a case, therefore, would be a fool to follow the rule of free will in the woman. Thus it had come to pass in the past as well as the present reign that dark and seditious figures walked in and out of the Royal Palace under the very nose of their benign and benevolent Ruler. Wherefore, the same may serve as a future example for persons of insufferable impudence to sully the dignity of the Royal Palace. Therefore, it is pointed out to the critics of the judgment that wisdom and restraint are the qualities to be exercised in such cases.

Wherefore, in deciding cases arising in the City as well as outside it the judges are hereby directed to consider the degree of nobility involved. Among people of lower birth they are to follow the rule laid down as in the foregoing, whereby the doctrine of marriage by mere touch and compromise is overruled, and the wishes of the woman are to be followed, whilst those of the parents and kinsmen are to be consulted among the nobles.

The fact is undeniable that people of lower birth are more interested in acquiring wealth than in furthering the welfare of their

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RĀMA I OF THE CHAKRI DYNASTY

By

Prince Dhani Nirat, Kromamun Bidyalabh

On the 27th July 1948 I read a paper before a session of the XXIst Congress of Orientalists held in Paris entitled *Some Aspects of the Literary Revival of the Kingdom of Siam*. A summary of the paper was included in the official report of the Congress and a statement was made therein that the full text would be published in *The Journal of the Siam Society*. As the title of the paper implied, the subject was limited to the literary side of that revival. Since that period *The Journal of the Siam Society* has been sufficiently contributed to. I decided, therefore, to waive for a time my claim for inclusion of the article, as after all the President should not claim precedence over other contributors. Upon revising the paper now after a lapse of several years I have come to the conclusion that it would be more interesting to enlarge the scope by including other channels along which the reconstruction proceeded. As now presented it not only covers the fields of written works whether legal, canonical, historical or literary, but also those of fine art, the drama, music, architecture and court ceremonial. An important field still left untouched is that of economics because of a serious dearth of information.

At the end of this paper will be found a bibliography. There are in this appendix both material in Siamese and in foreign languages generally accessible to the public. It is hoped that the more valuable and indispensable ones have all been included.

Retrospect

The Siamese branch of the great Thai race migrated southwards from the hinterland of East Asia before the XIIIth century and established themselves at various centres in the valleys of the Chaophyū and Mekhong rivers, eventually infiltrating Môn and Khmer territories further south.

Their first centre of any considerable magnitude was around Sukhothai, known by the name of the state of Sajjanālai Sukhothai. Its origin has been recorded in an inscription⁽¹⁾ the gist of which was that a Thai chief, Khun Bāng Klāng Thao, in alliance with another Thai prince rose against the Khmer and proclaimed Thai indepen-

1. cf. Coedès: *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, Vol. I, p. 7.

Fortunately able men still remained. From reasons ranging from mere desire for gain or personal aggrandisement to a love of independence from a foreign yoke and a natural preference to submit to no illegitimate master, pockets—if a modern terminology may be here permitted—of resistance became evident all over the country, no less than five leaders partitioning the country which had been the kingdom of Siam. The most successful of these factions was the one organised by Phya Tāk with his able generals, notably the one whom he eventually raised to the exalted rank of Chaophyā Chakri and his brother Chaophyā Surasih. In a brief time this faction restored the former kingdom of Siam to its old position of prestige. The work necessitated a long series of wars and the reign of Phya Tāk with his capital at Dhonburi on the Chaophyā opposite Bangkok showed achievements which were mainly martial. As a matter of fact with all his bravery and a brilliant quality of leadership, Phya Tāk, the King of Dhonburi as he is usually known, was highly temperamental. Hard work and responsibility ruined his nerves; and after seven years of successful leadership his mentality gave way to the strain and most of the wars in the next seven years of his reign were accomplished by his generalissimo, Chaophyā Chakri, in the monarch's name. On the cultural side the King of Dhonburi tried to reform the Church, for he was extremely religious, but the reforms were along his own peculiar way of thinking. He had all the monks go through ordeals of long diving to test their purity and moral standard. The Church still remained corrupt when he ceased to wield power. Internal administration and the arts and letters as well as trade and commerce showed no progress and compared unfavourably with the conditions prevalent in Ayudhyā before its fall. A rebellion then broke out and the King's mentality deteriorated. The King became a prisoner in the hands of the rebels under Phya San and was made to abdicate and assume the monastic robes. Hearing of the confusion at home, Chaophyā Chakri, then on a campaign of restoring order in Cambodia, hurried home, suppressed the rebellion and was acclaimed king.

The new sovereign had been a distinguished commander who could always be depended upon to replace the monarch on the field of battle. As has been stated, he had been in supreme command in the conduct of all wars in the second half of his predecessor's reign. Excepting for a few wars with Burma which were successfully dealt with, his reign was surprisingly free of fighting. The military prestige of the King and his brother, the latter being nicknamed "the Tiger" by the Burmese, seemed to have allayed all thoughts of aggression. He therefore applied himself assiduously to the work of reconstruction which was badly needed ever since the fall of Ayudhyā. In trying to reconstruct the machinery of his new state, Rāma I—to make use of a comparatively recent title which is nevertheless a more convenient one than any other—accepted without question the model of Ayudhyā with which he had been familiar. That model was in fact a paternal monarchy in which the king was the chief executive as well as the generalissimo and the supreme judge. He was, moreover, expected to submit his private life to a model laid down by law and custom. He was bound, in short, by the *Code of the Thammasāt*, which was considered to be inspired and therefore not liable to be changed by mere man even though he might have been a monarch. He was thus limited in his power of legislation, though he had a right to issue edicts and decrees in supplement or in explanation of the inspired Code. To sum up, the Siamese monarchy, like many other monarchies of Buddhist culture in south-east Asia was really neither absolute nor divine in the sense that propounders of democratic ideologies of the West have attributed to their so-called absolute monarchies.

Rāma I did not alter this political creed to any great extent. The extensive work of reconstruction which he planned and carried out was more in the nature of measures to ensure the efficacy of the administration. These measures were concerned with three main lines, moral, legal and literary.

Revision of the Buddhist Canon

His first act was to deal with the ethical side of the reconstruction. He began by financing from his privy purse a new and complete edition, written on palm leaves, of the Buddhist Canon of the *Tipitaka*. It was soon found, however, that this edition had been made from unreliable texts, since authoritative ones were not available, having mostly perished in the destruction of the old capital. The King therefore summoned a Council of the Church in 1788, six years after his accession to the Throne, to revise and collate whatever texts that could be found in this or neighbouring countries. The Council sat at the seat of the Patriarch, now known as Wat Mahāthāt, and worked for five months. It is on record that during this period 250 monks and laymen were employed and fed at the royal expense. The magnitude of the work may be gauged by referring to the latest edition of 1925-8, consisting of 45 volumes of an average of 500 octavo pages.⁽²⁾

Having established, as it were, a code of morals acceptable to his Buddhist subjects, the King set out with energy to see that his lay subjects as well as the members of the monastic orders behaved as good Buddhists, as evidenced by the innumerable decrees issued governing the conduct of monks and by the support given by the administration to the power of the ecclesiastical authorities, upon whom devolved the responsibilities of Church administration.

The position of the King of Siam *vis-à-vis* the Buddhist Church has never received accurate attention in foreign works on this country; and unfortunately a mistaken idea is abroad in many quarters that the King is a sort of a High Priest. The sovereign is in fact nothing more than the "Upholder of Religion", which includes any faith professed by his subjects. The title is, of course, broader than the western "Defender of the Faith", for a Buddhist monarch must be tolerant like every good Buddhist. Moreover, the

(2). The Edition of the Tipitaka sponsored by His Majesty King Prajadhipok and dedicated to the memory of his royal brother and predecessor, Rama VI, 1925-8.

traditional "King of Righteousness" (3) is expected to encourage any moral code that would benefit his subjects. Hence, the sovereign not only tolerates but also gives material support to Hinduism, Islam and Christianity without discrimination.

What the king was expected to do for the Buddhist Church is to give protection in the exercise of its jurisdiction over the large number of monks all over the Kingdom. The protection was not so much against external ills as against the monks' own failings. It was in this line of activity that Rāma I energetically applied himself immediately on ascending the Throne. Within two years of his accession he had already issued seven of the series of ten royal decrees, the *Kotmāi Phra Songh*,⁽⁴⁾ intended to clear the Holy Orders of the moral depravity to which a period of political tumult had brought them. One decree, for instance, required that every monk or novice, on leaving his preceptor, should have an identification paper; another required every abbot to keep a register of all monks under his jurisdiction and to be responsible for their conduct. In support of these decrees government officials were enjoined to see that they were strictly observed by every one concerned. The climax came later when, according to the tenth decree, dated 1801, some 128 profligate monks were rounded up, made to disrobe and conscripted for hard labour as a punishment. Their offence was thus stated :

"Certain monks, taking advantage of their honourable standing, are so shameless as to descend to all kinds of low behaviour such as drinking intoxicants ... wandering out at night to see entertainments, rubbing shoulders with women, engaging in loose talk boarding Chinese junks in order to obtain fanciful objects of merchandise, thus rendering themselves objects of scorn and ridicule to foreign unbelievers ... Some go to Phrabād, where they while away their days in

3. The theory of the King of Righteousness was dealt with in *The Old Siamese, Conception of the Monarchy*, JSS. XXXVI, 2, 1947.

4. for *Kotmāi Phra Songh*, see bibliography.

flirting with women excursionists and adopt at night the highwayman's life or attend low and undignified entertainments...."

The Law Code of 1805

In one of Rāma I's edicts we have the information that only a ninth or a tenth of the state legislation in use in the days of Ayudhyā was surviving (1795). The King was perhaps already contemplating to overhaul what was left. It was not, however, until ten years later that a comparatively insignificant incident of litigation revealed how the prevalent codes of law had strayed from a sense of equity. The Minister of the Treasury, incidentally the famous poet and writer, Chaophyā Phra Klang, whose original name had been Hon, brought to the King's notice the appeal of a certain Nai Bunsri against the granting of divorce to his wife by the Court of Justice. The wife, the appellant maintained, had had adulterous connections with one of the judges. The Court had dismissed his argument of adultery because a woman could always be granted a divorce. The King, realising the injustice of such an unilateral procedure by which the man could not divorce his wife in the same way as the wife could divorce him, and suspecting the authenticity of the texts used in court, consulted the other two copies of the statutes. By tradition one of these copies was kept in the Royal Library and the other in the Royal Bedchamber. All three were found to agree that a divorce applied for by a wife was to be granted without consideration for the husband's impeccability. Finding that the law was contrary to equity, the King, recollecting his great work of revising the Canon of the Church accomplished some years previously, determined upon another great undertaking, this time the revision of the Laws of the Kingdom which had become unreliable and sorely contaminated, bent to suit their purpose by the shameless and avaricious to such an extent as to endanger the maintenance of justice in the land. He therefore appointed a Royal Commission of eleven, composed of lawyers, royal scribes and men of learning. The magnitude of their work may be judged from the fact that in

modern printing it takes up some 1637 pages of octavo size. (5) The members of the Royal Commission were not slow in their work, for they finished the task within eleven months. Three copies of this revised code were written down and stamped with the royal seals used by the three chief ministers and are known to this day as the *copies of the three seals*. Specimens of this revised Code with their seals may be seen to this day, and an illustration of the page with the seals is reproduced here.

Unfortunately for the historian, the old texts which formed the basis for this revision have not been kept. Considering the emphasis laid on the absolute reliability of the new revised Code and the injunction that no other book of law not bearing the three seals of state was ever on any account to be accepted in the administration of justice, it is tempting to suspect that those old laws might have been intentionally destroyed. No one at the time seemed to foresee the possibility that these documents might be of historical interest and the only consideration taken appear to have been the desire to eliminate every possibility of fakes.

The revised Code of 1805 contains not only the inspired Code of the *Thammasāt*, a most interesting document from the point of view of the historical development of law in Buddhist south-east Asia, but also voluminous materials of royal decrees and edicts. The *Thammasāt* gives us a clear picture of the theory of Kingship (6); while the latter contains a wealth of information for the student of Siamese legal history and jurisprudence. Many phases have been studied by Messrs. Lingat and Burnay and published in *The Journal of the Siam Society* (7); but much new ground remains to be examined.

5. *The Code of the first Reign*, C.S. 1166: publ. by the University of Motal and Political Sciences from the original copy of the Three Seals, 3 Vols, oct. 446-503-567 pages, Aksoraniti Press, B.E. 2481 (1938).

6. cf. note 2 above.

7. cf. bibliography.

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First page of the Law Code of 1805, one of the original "Copies of the Three Seals." From left to right the seals are : 1. The Royal Lion of the Minister of the Interior ; 2. The Trunked Lion of the Minister of Defence ; and 3. The Crystal Lotus of the Minister of the Port.

This code of 1805 is prefaced by the preamble already mentioned above. Then comes the *Phra Thammāsāt*, literally the *Excellent Treatise of the Law*, tracing the origin of law along lines of Buddhist tradition by giving a genesis of the world. This theory of the genesis is over 25 centuries old. It develops the world in which we live from a fire-ball which gradually cools until life commences. It is thus curiously in harmony with modern scientific theories. Life was developed from aromatic vapours to which celestial beings from outside of the earth were attracted and they descended from the heavens to partake of the products of the earth. Thus irrevocably attracted to the earth they became its denizens losing their divine status. The *Thammāsāt* then goes on to recount how primitive men agreed to elect a leader among themselves, a model king of righteousness, called "The Great Elect", who "abided steadfast in the ten kingly virtues, constantly upholding the five common precepts of morality and once a week observed the eight precepts, living in kindness and goodwill to all beings. He took pains to study the *Excellent Treatise of the Law* and to keep the four principles of justice, namely: to assess the right or wrong of all service or disservice rendered to him, to uphold the righteous and truthful, to acquire riches through none but just means and to maintain the prosperity of his state through none but just means." His progeny has been ruling the world since. One day a minister of the king, the "Seer of the Manusāra", who had retired and gone forth to the confines of the world, discovered inscribed on the mountainous extremities this *Excellent Treatise of the Law*. Learning it by heart he came back and wrote it out for the use of the king his sovereign. It then goes on to enunciate the main principles of this system of the law, which consisted of the *mūlakadi*, trunk or elemental matter, and the *sākhākadi*, branch or subsidiary matter. The former was divided into legislation for the guidance of the judicature, such as procedure; and legislation for the guidance of the people. The main headings of this latter division were: laws for the reception of complaints, law of evidence, of ordeals by fire or water, of the conduct of the judicature, of appeal, of husband

and wife, of slavery, of abduction, of inheritance, of debt, of quarrels, of robbery, of offences against the state, of offences against private individuals, of treason and of miscellanies. The *sākhākadi* is made up of royal edicts and decrees, among which may be mentioned the Palatine Law, or *Kot Monthierabāl*, and the voluminous edicts occupying roughly one third of this code of 1805. Many of these edicts were as late as the ones promulgated by Rāma I himself. Their general tone bespeaks an earnest attempt on the part of their promulgator to inculcate a more moral standard of living among his subjects, especially among the courtiers and officials of the government, who should set examples to which the people could look up to for guidance. The time was no doubt a difficult one, the country having all too recently emerged from the turmoils which affected so deeply not only the political but also the physical and moral welfare of the people.

This revision of the law code in 1805 was justly compared to the revision of the Buddhist Canon of 1788. The pair formed one great accomplishment of which its royal promoter was fully entitled to be proud. King Rāma I had thus set a standard for the spiritual and temporal government of the Kingdom. It singled him out as a broadminded reformer, who was nevertheless a staunch traditionalist, a combination of ideals which has hardly ever failed in the world's history.

Literary Revivals

The third field in which the King exerted much effort was to revive the national literature, the greater part of this having presumably disappeared since the fall of Ayudhyā. In days prior to printing such a catastrophe was easy to come about for most of the best in writings probably existed in manuscripts centred round the headquarters of the administration. In King Rāma I's revival he gave impetus to the literary movement in various ways. First of all, he initiated what was known as *Phra Rājanibondh*, i.e., royal writings, which might have been personally written by the

sovereign himself or composed in an intimate circle of friends and kindred spirits under the King's leadership. He also used his influence and power to have foreign masterpieces translated into Siamese; and he gave encouragement to individual writers like the above-mentioned Chaophyā Phra Klang (Hon) and many others.

Among royal writings the best known is the *Rāmakien* of 1798. The story of Rāma, the ancient Indian hero, was of course an old theme in this country. It permeated almost all branches of Siamese literature and arts. In the dramatic field there exist parts of the story in *chanda* verses, which were the recitatives employed in the shadow-play. The shadow-play probably developed in due time into the masked play, or *khon*, of the type which was performed before the screen, thereby retaining its original characteristic as a shadow-play. This type of the *khōn* retained also the *chanda* recitatives of the shadow-play. The *khōn* before the screen is believed to have been invented in the days of Ayudhyā and its *chanda* recitatives were later developed into *klōn* verses for singing in accompaniment of the action. There are fragments of early *klōn* verses on the story of Rāma which are believed to have been composed by the King of Dhonburi. No complete story has, however, been found that antedates the *Rāmakien* of 1798. The plot of this is prefaced by preliminary tales describing the origins of the three main races inhabiting the world, the human, the demoniac and the simian. These three formed the principal actors of the epic drama. The main story does not correspond to the world famous *Rāmāyana* of Vālmiki entirely, for it has many important interpolations which have been traced back to south India and other sources, several probably having arisen in nearer parts of south-east Asia or even in Siam itself. The prefatory matter, too, could not have been an integral part of the original story in this land but was probably developed from such Siamese prose works as the *Nārāi Sibpāng*, the "Ten Incarnations of Vishnu", which appears to have been inspired by traditions, possibly oral, of the classical Sanskrit *Purāna*. This standard version, called the *Rāmakien*, was written in *klōn* verse in the form of recitatives for singing in accompaniment

to the classical dance. It is a long story without any attempt at subdivision, another proof of its independence from the Sanskrit *Rāmāyana* of Vālmīki which was divided into 7 cantos. It was written primarily for the stage and was marked with directions as to the tones to which it was to be sung as well as indications regarding the musical accompaniments during intervals between the singing. The subject matter, though written without subdivision, consists of three well-defined sections. The first deals with the origins of the human, the demoniac and the simian characters which form the principal rôles in the epic drama. The second is a narration following fairly accurately the well-known theme of the story of Rāma with considerable interpolations in the latter part of the war in Lonkā, culminating in the death of Thosakanth, the chief villain of the story, and the hero's reunion with the abducted heroine Sītā and their return home to Ayodhyā. The third section deals with another long war which looks like a local interpolation retelling the preceding war with substitutions of the principal figures in the drama, followed by perhaps older material which can be identified with some Indian originals. Shortly speaking, the plot is as follows:

In a contest of skill in manipulating the bow of Siva, Rāma, the hero, had won his bride, Sītā, who proved a most faithful and devoted wife. In order to honour a vow made in an unguarded moment by his father, the King of Ayodhyā, to a minor young Queen, Rāma exiled himself from the capital for 13 years, during which his wife was abducted by Thosakanth the demon-king of Lonkā. Rāma waged a long war to restore his faithful wife, in which he had two whole monkey-armies as allies. Thosakanth and his numerous allies and relatives were eventually vanquished and Sītā was restored. Rāma returned to Ayodhyā and assumed his rule. The other war was then started by remnants of the villain's allies and was won by Prot and Satrud in the name of Rāma, their brother.

Three other voluminous poems, in *klôn* verse and in the form of dramatic recitatives like the *Rāmakien*, date from this period and are classed as "royal writings". They are *Dālung*, *Inao* and

Unaruth. The first two are Javanese in origin and in all probability came up to Siam from Islamic Malacca together with a few other Islamic literary pieces; whilst the last is clearly of Indian origin.

Dālang, or the "Greater Tale of Inao", conforms more to the majority class of Panji tales of Java but is less popular in this country than the lesser tale which will be mentioned next. The main plot is woven around the adventures of Inao, better known in Java as Panji, who has been identified with the historical figure of Kāmeśvara I of the Kurepan-Dāhā state (1115-1130).

Inao, the "Lesser Tale of Inao", exists in fragments in *klôn* for the purpose of dramatic-dance performances. It was judged by King Chulalongkorn to have belonged to late Ayudhya days because of its description of the capital city and its royal palace. The fragments were secured from Nakon Sri Dharmarāj and were published in Prince Damrong's *History of the Drama of Inao* in 1921 (pp. 85-93). An epilogue was discovered later confirming the fact that the above was a relic of the late Ayudhyā period and that King Rāma I wrote the concluding section of it in the royal chamber of Chakrabartibimān, thus qualifying it as a royal writing of the first reign. This version of the romance of Inao was the subject of a much more popular drama from the pen of His Majesty's successor, Rāma II, under the identical name of *Inao*.

Unaruth was written in 1783 and is the only vestige of the Mahābhārata in Siamese literature. The hero was Unaruth (Sk. Aniruddha) grandson of Krishna. It is believed to have been dramatised from the poem of Sri Prājñā of the XVIIth century.

The King wrote also a *nirās*, a type of poetry based supposedly on a separation from a lady - love while on travel, called *Nirās Tū Dindaen* after a famous spot which was a battle ground in that campaign. The poem is dated 1786, when the King and his brother had just repelled a Burmese invasion which had entered Siam by the Three Pagodas pass on the western border. Schweisguth in his *Etude sur la Littérature siamoise* commented (p. 190) "elle est écrite dans un

style grandiloquent et elle contient peu de détails intéressants; c'est un bref journal de route plus qu'un *Nirat*; on n'y trouve pas trace d'émotion amoureuse".

A *History of Siam*, now known as the version of Phan Chandanumās', contains a preface with the date of C.S. 1157 (1796) as being the year when it was written. The preface has the further interesting information that the part commencing with the founding of Ayudhya down to the reign of Phrachao Siia (pp. 1-378) had been written under the direction of Kings Petrājā and Phrachao Sūa; and that the continuation down to contemporary times had been written by Chaophya Bibidhabijai under Rāma I's direction. The latter writer was probably identical with the nobleman who was an authority on court etiquette and ceremonies and headed the royal commission to draw up details of the King's coronation in 1786.

Of the category of translations from foreign masterpieces instigated by the King there were many. In the very first year of the reign there was a royal command to write down the old tale of the *Sibsongliem*, a name which can be paraphrased as "The Duodecagon". This copy was written in gold on the old-style Siamese folio paper. Another version has recently (1928) been discovered and published showing an Ayudhyan date of C.S. 1114 (1753). It is more than probable that this was the original from which the gold-lettered copy of 1783 was made. The gist of both versions concerns an old Persian tradition of King Mahmoud of Baghdad of the Abbasid dynasty who went in quest of an old duodecagonal monument erected by Nushirwan Al'uddin of the Persian Sassanid dynasty on which he found maxims of polity which form the main topic of this work. The source of the story was Iran and no doubt it formed one of the works, like *Inao*, which were brought from Islamic Malacca to Ayudhya.

Another voluminous translation was the *Mahāvansa* from the Pali of Ceylon. From the days of Rāma Kambaeng of Sukhothai our nation has been deeply inspired by the Theravādin

Buddhism of that country. At the King's command Khun Sundaravohār, acting Chief Scribe, wrote down in 1797 the translation of the great work undertaken, by a certain Phyā Dharmapurohit. The copy was submitted, by royal command, to and duly approved by the Patriarch and Lords Abbot of the Kingdom.

Two other voluminous works, this time from the Chinese, belong to this period. The *Saihan*, an historical novel of Chinese source, was translated under the supervision of the King's nephew, Čaofā Kromaphra Anuraks - deves, Prince of the Palace to the Rear, who died in 1807. As the translation is not dated it may be presumed that it antedates that year. The romance deals with a period of Chinese history prior to the IIIrd century A.D. The other work translated was the *Sānkok*, another novel dealing as its name implies with the period of the Three Kingdoms (from 186 A.D. to about 265). The work is also undated, but as it was placed by royal command under the supervision of Chaophyā Phra Klang (Hon) who died in 1806, it may be presumed likewise to antedate that year. This has become one of the most popular prose works of olden times which, however, is still read by people at large and forms a schoolbook. Its prose is easy and it has a style of its own.

Another large translation is the *Rājādhirāj*, said to have been dated 1784 and attributed again to Chaophyā Phra Klang (Hon). The dating of this work is complicated by the way the preface was written. It mentioned that the translation was made under the royal command of Phrabāḍ Somdeč Phra Buddhayodfā, which name has only been in use to designate the founder of the dynasty since about the middle of the XIXth century in the reign of his grandson, now known as Rāma III. In any case, the historical romance treats of the exploits of the Môn line of monarchs ruling from the end of the XIIth century, first at Martaban and then at Pegu which they named Hongsaṃwadi. The main theme was the struggle of the Môn against the Burmese of Ava. The title of the work is the name of the Môn hero, son of King Fārua, who before his accession to the throne of Martaban was Magato, son-in-law of Rāma Kamhaeng of Sukliothai. The style of its prose is fine and easy.

Towards the end of the reign, the King's son and heir, later Rāma II, directed a royal scribe named Phra Vijiēnprijā to write an *Annal of the North*, which actually, however, is a collection of traditions purporting to give a history of the pre-Ayudhyan period. It seemed to contain some good material but it is so indifferently compiled that it is but a jumble of fantastic tales.

As for individual writers who wrote more or less on their own, we may mention the abbot of Wat Phra Jetubon, who later became Somdeč Phra Vanarat, Patriarch of the Kingdom, a man well known for his scholarship. He was the preceptor of another, perhaps more famous, scholar, Prince Paramānujit, who later also became head of the Buddhist Church of Siam. Three works in Pali verse are attributed to him. Of the three, the only complete one, is the *Saṅgītiyavansa*, written in 1789. It deals with the history of the Buddhist Councils convened to standardise the Canon of the *T'ipitaka*, beginning with the one which took place immediately after the death of the Buddha and concluding with the ninth Council summoned by His Majesty which had just ended. It was a tribute from the Church in acknowledgment of the royal initiative and support in the already mentioned Council for the standardisation of the Canon in 1788. The other two were histories, also in Pali verse, of which only a few fragments have been found. The story of their discovery as recently as 1918 should be told. Prince Damrong had heard of the existence of the two works and had been told that they were written in mediaeval Pali in which Siamese historical names were curiously Pali-fied. He was, however, unable to locate these works till 1918, when acting upon the information of the then abbot of Wat Phra Jetubon, he sent an official to examine the contents of old book-cases in that monastery and found manuscripts in a bundle which contained, among other works, fragments of the histories in verse, one called the *Mahā-yuddhakāravansa* dealing with the wars against the Burmans carried on by the Môn hero, known as Rājādhirāj, "the King of Kings", and the other *Cullayuddhakāravansa*, a history of Ayudhyā with special reference to the Burmese wars. The texts were incomplete

and the preambles, so usual with literary compositions of that period, were missing in both cases. The subject-matters were easily identified with the missing works of the Patriarch.

Other writings of this period include the *Kotmāi lilit*, "the law in verse" (1801), an abridgement of the law of appeal, etc. by a certain Luang Thammasāt; the *Byuthayātrā Bejraphuang* of Chaophyā Phra Klang (Hon) describing royal progresses by water, by elephant and by horse, the latter two specifying that the destinations were the Phrabād of Saraburi, and concluding with a statement of the date of the composition of the poem as being the tenth month of C.S. 1159 (1798); other poetical works by the same author, namely some chapters of the *Mahājāli*, considered to be the most eloquent poetry of its kind, and the *Song of Kākī*, both undated like several others attributed to the same poet; the *T'railokyavinicchai* (1803), a cosmological treatise by the learned Phyā Dharmaprijā, who when a monk with the name of Kaeo had voted on the side of those monks who were in favour of treating the King of Dhonburi as a supernatural personality to be bowed down to by the monastic order in accordance with that monarch's wish but had been disgraced for his undignified plausibility and duly disrobed though retained in royal service as a learned layman or a "Rājapandit"; lastly, there was the *Nirās Nakon Sri Dharmaraj* and another poem by the King's brother, Surasih, the first occupant during the Chakri dynasty of the Palace to the Front.

Besides the three main avenues in which the renaissance progressed, there were also other subsidiary channels. In art the new movement manifested itself to a great extent in the field of architectural decoration. Painting, plaster-moulding and carving were effusively employed for both interior and exterior decoration. The monuments thus decorated were mostly monastic although in a few cases the royal residences were also similarly embellished. Among monastic monuments the beautiful ensemble of the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha stands out more prominent than any other. What we see now was mostly

decorated though without doubt these buildings have been repaired along original lines. The extensive grounds also of the monastery of Jetubon formed one of the greatest architectural undertakings of this period, without including, of course, the grounds of the Chapel of the Reclining Buddha which was added later by King Rama III. It is understood that the door-panels of both of the main chapels of the Emerald Buddha and Wat Phra Jetubon were typical specimens of inlaying with mother of pearl dating from this period. Of secular monuments, the Mahāmonthien group of royal residences has retained much of its original painting indoors; whilst both this and the audience hall of Dusit to the west of it are typical of the period's architecture.

As for music and the dance they found expression in the *khōn*, the *lakon*, the *hun* or marionette figures which are still to be seen in the National Museum, the shadow-play, etc. Theatrical troupes supported directly by the monarch or his brother, Prince Surasih, were successively giving performances at the more important public festivals such as the inauguration of the building of the new capital at Bangkok, the dedication of the revised version of the Canon of the *Tipitaka*, the dedication of Wat Phra Jetubon in 1809 and the further dedicatory festival in honour of the Emerald Buddha in 1809 about three months before the King died. These performances were all recorded and in the King's own words in the epilogue of his *Rāmakien* his attitude was that the story "should not be regarded as of basic value but is merely a part of His Majesty's dedication to the Master's teachings".

As may be seen from the way he initiated the revision of the law code, Rama I was a traditionalist in that he kept to the old Constitution of the *Thammasāt*, whereby the King only legislated in explanation of or in supplement to a certain fixed set of legal headings. He was, however, far from being a stickler for forms, in proof of which may be cited his decision in the above-cited case of the divorce in which justice seemed to be in contradiction to equity. Since most of the authentic traditions had been lost, he was in the

habit of taking steps to study and enquire before embarking upon any important move especially in what concerned court etiquette and national ceremonies which he revived on account of their sociological value. Thus before he went through the rite of supreme anointment—in other words his coronation—he appointed a royal commission to study the forms of the ceremony as practiced in the days of Ayudhyā under the presidency of Chaophyā Bibidhabijai, a former high court officer of the Ayudhyā regime. With the celebration, however, of each important ceremony such as the regular annual commencement of ploughing, the exposition of the tale of the Great Birth, or the *Mahājāti* in 1807, the revision of the *T'ipitaka* in 1788 and doubtless at others which have not been recorded, he had royal proclamations read out to the assembled court so that the implication of each ceremony might be generally appreciated—again a sociological step. Even his daily life was governed by a routine which may be thus translated from a history written in 1870:

“In the morning the King used to come out to offer alms to monks on their morning rounds, after which he had a set of monks invited by regular turns to partake of food in the Audience Chamber. After the monks had left he received verbal reports of the daily expenditures from the Treasury. He then mounted the throne to give daily audience to the court. Here members of the Royal Family and the Royal Bodyguard of Gentlemen-at-arms entered first, the officers of the latter force taking this opportunity to submit reports of those special judicial cases which had been referred to them for opinion to guide the King's judgment. Then followed the regular audience of the day. This concluded, the King retired, took his luncheon and received the ladies of the Royal Family for a time. A short rest followed. In the evening the King took his meal early and then came out to the Audience Chamber to listen to the daily sermon delivered by a monk. This was followed by the delivery of verbal reports from officials of the Inner Treasury in connection with their duties, verbal reports of royal pages

sent on special errands such as to enquire after the health of members of the Royal Family or ministers or the progress of building constructions which interested him. Then the King again mounted the throne for the evening audience and reports were read to him from the provinces and received the royal decision. The audience usually came to an end by about 9 or 10 p.m. but in critical times as during momentous events it often lasted till 1 or 2 a.m. This routine was regularly kept up until the King became infirm with old age. Then he would appear, instead, at the window of the inner chamber now known as the Baikal building and from up there carry on his business of state with ministers or officials assembled in the courtyard below". (8)

The period of infirmity only lasted two or three years; and the King passed away after a short illness in 1809 at the age of 74.

The King's Colleagues

Rāma I's success in his reconstruction out of nothing was due to two main causes: his own personality which was a combination of sagacity, far-sightedness, moderation, and honesty; and indomitable will which was rendered all the stronger by a physical constitution which yielded neither to old age, sickness nor love of ease. His personality enabled him to enjoy the loyal cooperation of a set of able helpers about whom something should be said in passing.

The most intimate and constant companion who had shared with him from the earliest years his military and administrative careers was his brother Buñmā who served in the Dhonburi regime until he was created Chaophyā Surasih. When his brother Chaophyā Chakri became king, he was raised to the highest rank in the state next to the sovereign and was known as Prince Surasihanād, Prince of the Palace to the Front and virtual heir to the Throne. He, however, predeceased his brother by six years. The Palace to the Front was

8 cf. *History of the First Reign*, by Chaophyā Dibākarakawongs, in Siamese, ed. B.E. 2497 (1936), pp. 308-10.

an old institution prevalent from the days of Ayudhyā. In the new régime of Bangkok it was situated to the north of the Grand Palace beyond the monastery now known as Wat Mahātibāt, then the seat of the Patriarch of the Kingdom. The Prince had an impetuous character with a strong will but he was not always fair-minded. As a fighter he distinguished himself as an offensive strategist. He supplied the element of push while his brother acted as the brake, and the combination turned out successful. In this way the two brothers won their wars both under the leadership of the King of Dhonburi and later on their own while the King stayed at home. In peace, however, he did not shine though he exerted every energy to cooperate with his brother in the great reconstruction work. It is in fact on record that the two brothers even quarrelled very seriously on one occasion and could only be reconciled with some difficulty by the joint mediation of their two sisters.

The nature of the exalted position of the Prince of the Palace to the Front was a peculiar one. Though he was the most exalted figure after the monarch he was not theoretically heir to the Throne, for in the old theory of the Siamese monarchy each monarch was chosen to rule by the Council of the Lords of the Realm, made up of elder members of the Royal Family and ministers of state. Foreigners have been in the habit of calling him the "Second King", though in reality there have been only two "Second Kings" in our history. One was the younger brother of King Naresvara, who had been his royal brother's constant companion and comrade in arms; and the other was the Prince Chudamani, brother of King Mongkut, who was created "His Majesty Phra Pinklao" by his royal brother. Prince Surasih though he had also been his brother's constant comrade in arms and a colleague in the service under the King of Dhonburi was never raised to the exalted rank of a Majesty. He was merely the Prince of the Palace to the Front. This office was, moreover, not hereditary, the occupant being individually appointed when a vacancy occurred. He nevertheless had his own court and in most cases wielded tremendous power. In the days of Ayudhyā this led in

many instances to serious rivalry. In the case of Prince Surasih fraternal ties prevented such a possibility though their differences of opinion were now and then no doubt taken advantage of by their ambitious followers. Nothing serious, however, developed.

Next in rank was the Prince to the Palace to the Rear (Wanglang). The Palace was on the other side of the river, part of which was up to some three decades ago the Wanglang School for Girls operated by the American Presbyterian Mission but now forms the front of the Nursing School under the direction of the Sirirāj Hospital. The rest of the palace grounds is either included in that hospital or occupied by descendants of the only occupant of that exalted office in history, who, by the way, was a nephew of Rama I by his elder sister who married a nobleman in the Ayudhyā régime long since dead. The King had two elder sisters who were highly respected by him and were often consulted in important matters, especially the one just mentioned. Her son served under the Dhonburi régime and rose to be a Phya, a governor of one of the north-east provinces before being raised to the exalted position of Prince of the Palace to the Rear in the present régime.

Outside his own family the King was fortunate in being able to secure men of about his age and social circle for the key positions in his government. Those were pre-Parliamentary days and the King was his own Chief of the Cabinet Council. Naturally he held this position for life; and its membership was also more or less permanent. Thus a greater continuity of action was secured. The more prominent of these ministers were:

The so-called co-Prime Ministers were not really Prime Ministers in the modern sense of the term at all, for they were individually responsible for their own department only and had no legitimate jurisdiction over the other departments of the government. They were merely considered as being higher in rank than the other four Ministers; but that was all.

One of these two, the *Samuhanāyok*, charged with the department or portfolio of the Mahādthai, exercised jurisdiction over all the north and north-east provinces. This was the very post which was occupied by the King under the Dhonburi régime. In exercising his jurisdiction he was responsible in his area for all the three main activities of governance which the monarch exercised over the whole state, namely, executive, judicial and military. Upon his accession to the Throne the King appointed his former secretary, Phra Akkharasundara, whose personal name was Son, to succeed him with the title of Chaophyā Ratnābibidh. For the other co-Premiership, called the *Samuha-Phra-Kalāhōm*, with similar jurisdiction over the south, he appointed the governor of Pechabūn, personal name Pli, and promoted him also to the rank of *Chaophyā* with the traditional title of *Mahāsenā*.

Among less important officials of that first government, who later attained to ministerial ranks, were two men who have since perpetuated their names. One was Luang Saravijit, personal name Hon, who eventually became Chaophyā Phra Klang Minister of the Treasury, whom we have twice mentioned by name. His office was identical with the old one which was called by foreign writers the *Barcalon*, which is in fact a mispronunciation of the same title. This nobleman was the famous poet and literary man to whom were attributed so many works of the first reign renaissance. The other was a Nai Bunnag who was sixth in the direct line of a family of noblemen of Ayudhyā, descended from the Persian Sheik Ahmad who settled down in this country in the early years of the XVIIth century and rose in the service of King Songdharm to be a Phyā. Nai Bunnag was the husband of the Lady Nual, younger sister of the Lady Chakri, who eventually became Queen when her husband ascended the Throne. In his younger days he had lived at Dhonburi with his brother-in-law who became Chaophyā Chakri as the latter's personal attendant and did not seem to have aspired to officialdom in the King's service. When his brother-in-law became King he made this man his Master of the Robes with the title of Phyā Udayadharm. When the *Samuha-Phra-Kalāhōm* died, he

was promoted to that exalted post and created a *Chaophya* with the title of *Mahāsenā*. This nobleman had a large family, which produced generations of distinguished servants of the state among whom were three *Somdec Chaophyā* and several *Chaophyā*, all attaining to ministerial ranks. One of the three *Somdec Chaophyā* even became a Regent of the Kingdom. This Nai Bunnag was the founder of the present well-known Bunnag family.

Like the senior princes of the Royal Family, most of the Ministers predeceased their leader and sovereign by a few years, and the ones singled out for mention above proved no exceptions.

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KING MONGKUT IN PERSPECTIVE

by

A.B. Griswold

I

Many people in the west nowadays are searching for that elusive abstraction, the Asian mind, as if Asia were a unit and all Asians had the same habit of thought. The search, in proving its own futility, may nevertheless be instructive, for it may encourage a more selective approach.

King Mongkut's career is a useful introduction.¹ At its outset it exhibits the ancient traditions of palace and religious life, drawn principally from India, that were once common to most of Southeast Asia; at its apex it exhibits these traditions being adapted to modern needs. This painful but necessary process King Mongkut guided with a sure hand. By preventing the breakdown that occurred in neighboring countries, he saved Siam from the schizophrenia whose consequences so often plague relations between east and west today.

King Mongkut mounted the throne of Siam in the middle of the 19th century, when European imperialism was tearing Asia to pieces. Among the empire-builders there were many brilliant and courageous men; King Mongkut was one of the very few Asian leaders who could match them. While other rulers were feebly giving in to the conquerors or exhausting themselves with futile rage, he kept his country free. While others hoped to withdraw into safety by shutting out western influences, he recognized—as the Japanese were to recognize a few years later—that the only way for an Asian country to survive was to absorb these influences and modernize itself. He had seen the fatal result of China's attempt to shut out the west. Almost alone among his countrymen he realized that the Chinese were really beaten in the Opium Wars, he did not believe their propaganda that they were granting treaty rights to the British only as a gracious compromise. Siam must not follow their example: Siam would have to break with the conservative isolationism of the recent past, admit foreign trade

and foreign ideas, revamp her old institutions. Her future rulers would have to learn the intricacies of western thought and science, diplomacy and statecraft. The key to all these things was language: and he himself had taken up the study of English at a time when his countrymen thought it the merest eccentricity and called him a fool.

He had a sense of urgency. What western nations had taken centuries to do, Siam must accomplish in decades. During his seventeen year reign he transformed the country's whole outlook. Establishing diplomatic relations with England, France and America he opened the land to a lifegiving flow of foreign commerce. Resolutely opposing the forces of inertia he opened men's minds to new ideas. He set up printing presses, built roads and canals, and issued the first modern currency to take care of the requirements of his country's expanded trade. He reformed the administration, installed foreign advisers in government departments, called in English officers to improve the army and organize a police force. He stimulated education at home and sent young men abroad to study. He reaffirmed the freedom of religion and encouraged the Christian missionaries in their educational and medical work. He raised the condition of the slaves and insisted that the law should treat all ranks of men impartially.

His reforms constitute one of the strangest revolutions in history. They were not at all dictated by popular opinion, for there was no such thing at the time. Nor were they concessions extorted from an Absolute Monarch by a group of young liberals—for he himself was both the Absolute Monarch and the leader of the liberals,

The spectacle of an Absolute Monarch voluntarily taking these bold steps in the direction of modern democracy at a time when his subjects had never even dreamed of the idea is a paradox that bewilders a westerner's imagination. Yet it is a spectacle that fits well with the best traditions of Buddhism: King Mongkut was neither the first nor the last Siamese ruler to prove himself

more progressive than his subjects. But he made more significant changes than any of his predecessors. And it was he who charted the course his successors were to follow—a course which has made Siam, in the space of a few score years, into a modern nation with an honored place in the free world.

Great as these achievements are, King Mongkut's reforms in the religious field have an even deeper meaning. When he saw the old beliefs breaking down under the impact of western materialism, he did not look on in helpless dismay. Being both a philosopher and a man of action, he breathed new life into Buddhism and made it a more vigorous power for the alleviation of human misery.

Some day, if history ceases to be one-sided and adopts a more comprehensive view of the world, King Mongkut's name will rank higher than the names of the empire-builders. For the moment, however, he is hardly known in the west except in the grotesque caricature popularized by Rex Harrison in *Anna and the King* and by Yul Brynner in *The King and I*.

Hollywood and Broadway are only partly to blame. They have thrown in some ill-chosen humor and some antics that are a shock to anyone who knows the courteous manners of Siamese ladies and gentlemen—but these additions are more peccadilloes. The real fault lies in the two books they ultimately spring from—*The English Governess at the Court of Siam* (London, 1870) and *The Romance of the Harem* (Boston, 1873)—both written by Anna herself, who was Mrs. Anna Leonowens in real life but "Anna Owens" in her melodious transformation.

Anna came to Bangkok in 1862 to serve as governess to King Mongkut's children. Widowed when young, she had suffered much; but suffering had not brought resignation. She was a brave woman, in fact a good deal braver than necessary if she could have seen how groundless her fears were. Hovering on the fringes of reality, often escaping into make-believe, she had an acute sense of melodrama and absolutely no sense of proportion. This, I think, is the true picture of Anna as revealed by unguarded passages in her own books.

How different is the radiant self-portrait she offers when she is on the alert! Here the dedicated woman, whose beauty exposes her to special risks, is seen gently uplifting the barbarians: this self-portrait is nobly conceived and sensitively executed.

It is also absurdly unreal. Anna misjudged the requirements of a monarch who insisted that her only function was to teach English. Her chastity remained unassaulted and her tactful evangelism ignored. After five years in Siam she returned to the west, ready to make some startling announcements.

Anna writes well. Her prose is lively, and for the most part free of pomposity. With her sharp eye for landscape she is at her best when evoking a visual impression. A profusion of small errors and a muddled topography pass unnoticed, as far as the ordinary reader is concerned.

Interested in Siamese life in all its phases, Anna made serious, though spasmodic, attempts to describe it intelligently. She took the trouble to learn a certain amount about Buddhism but here she was beyond her depth. Her best passages on the subject are slyly plagiarized from earlier writers: her own opinions, when she ventures them, are of little value. She never grasped the significance of Brahmin ceremonial at the Court of a Buddhist country, and she confounds one of the best-known monasteries in Bangkok with the Brahmin Temple.

If her self-portrait is flattering, her portrait of the King is quite the reverse; and it is all the more misleading because it is made to look like an impartial and carefully-balanced assessment of a complex personality. She praises him for his scholarship and his keenness of mind, his devotion to his people and his zeal for reform: and these qualities she illustrates with an abundance of well-chosen incident. She makes a sharp distinction between his public and his private character: are we to understand that the virtues of the first were too well-known to be denied, while the faults of the second were known only to herself? When she enlarges on his cruelty, angry rages, and unrestrained lust,

I cannot say how far she was the victim of malicious gossip or misunderstanding, and how far she herself originated the accusations.

"I have tried to give a full and faithful account of the scenes and characters that were gradually unfolded to me as I began to understand the language," she says somewhat timidly in her first book. But Siamese is a tricky language, and it is clear she never really mastered it. When the palace ladies and their servants were telling her the truth, it is doubtful how much of it would penetrate; when they were regaling her with calculated lies, or having a little joke at her expense, they would make sure she understood what they were saying. Probably, however, she drew less on these sources than she would have us believe, and more on the gossip of the European community and her own imagination.

Such is the mood of *The English Governess*. She was already far away from Siam when she came to write *The Romance of the Harem*, and her store of pertinent facts was running low. She relied more heavily on plagiarism, transposed and doctored up to look like eyewitness accounts or direct quotations from reliable observers: "So strange will some of the occurrences related in the following pages appear to Western readers," she shamelessly remarks in her preface, "that I deem it necessary to state that they are also true."

The method she used sparingly in the first book is carried so far in the second that it gives itself away. Glancing through some earlier writer on Siam, or even on neighboring countries, she would seize on a lurid story that appealed to her; she would remove it from its context and transpose it to Bangkok in the 1860's; and then, after a moment's reflection, she would re-write it with a wealth of circumstantial detail, and with contemporary men and women as the protagonists. King Mongkut, being the principal target of her malice, became the posthumous victim of this reckless method; I shall cite specific instances later.

and an examination of the ruins shows that the Chapel and Eastern Section are more solidly built than the rest of the ruins.

These observations suggest the conclusion that the Chapel and Eastern Section represent the original Buildings constructed by P'ra Narai's orders for the reception of Ambassador de Chaumont and his staff. The French map of Lopburi, made at that time, supports this theory, which is furthermore reinforced by Prince Damrong's comments on the ornamentation of the Chapel windows.

In the French map, the site of the ruins is described as "The residence of the French Ambassador" (D), and the western boundary wall is shown close to the west end of the Chapel. The ground beyond that boundary is shown as a Buddhist Temple, which must have been acquired in order to construct the western part of the present ruins, since the latter extend almost to the City wall. Phaulkon's house (T) is shown outside the City wall.

It is possible that after the departure of de Chaumont's Embassy, Phaulkon built the Western Section for himself and for the twelve Jesuits who came out in 1687 as well as for the six left behind by de Chaumont. The two parallel narrow gabled buildings (b) and (c) are more suggestive of friars' cells than of lay habitations.

As mentioned above, the building on the East side of the Ruins is marked as the "P'ra Klang's" House.

The Royal Gardens (G) occupied the present site of the Co-operative Department Buildings—separated from the Palace (A) by a line of Royal Stables (K).

Nothing now remains of the French Mission (F), or of the populous quarter on the island (Q) opposite to the Market (S) which is still in that part of the town.

Phaulkon's house and garden (T) lie beyond the N.-E. end of the Moat, parallel with the Jesuit Astronomers' Observation Tower (P), a ruin now known as San Polo. This quarter is now very sparsely populated and contains no vestiges of Phaulkon's garden.

Its place however on the French map far away from the ruins now known as Phaulkon's house may be taken as evidence that at the time when the map was made Phaulkon resided far away from the Palace; also that the eastern and central portion of the site now known as Phaulkon's house contained apartments which were built for the reception of the French Ambassador.

It is incredible that a foreigner in the Siamese service could have been permitted to build so magnificent a palace for himself, while the

II

At the beginning of the 19th century, Siam was rapidly recovering from the disasters of the Burmese wars which had laid the country waste a generation before. ²

The ancient capital, fifty miles north of Bangkok, had once been a city larger than the London of those days. For more than four hundred years it had been called "Lovely City of the Gods, Glorious and Impregnable". It had been splendid with tall white palaces and gilded spires—an Oriental Venice whose canals carried in stately procession the Royal barges, carved in the shape of slim dragons saddled with gleaming pavilions. The merchants of Europe and Asia had traded in its markets, while tributary princes sent silks and jewels and golden trees in offering to its mighty ruler. In its hundred monasteries the yellow-robed monks engaged in deep meditation, doing obeisance to the Buddha whose images were endlessly repeated in bronze or gilded stucco. But the strength of its armies did not match the splendor of its buildings. The Burmese captured the lovely city, stripped it of its greatest treasures, and left it a smoking ruin.

A year or two later the Siamese drove out the invaders, but they did not attempt to rebuild the old capital. Instead they founded a new one, farther down the river at Bangkok. First on the right bank and later on the left, palaces and monasteries began to rise, their architecture reproducing the remembered glories of the past. Massive white walls supported tier on tier of tile roofs which overlapped one another like the bright-colored capes of some fantastic cloak. Huge gilded cobras writhed along the ridge-poles or swooped down upon the gable ends to terrify evil spirits. Artists, painting the interior walls in rich and sober colors, created timeless landscapes in which the Buddha received the homage of princes who wore the costume of the Siamese court, while the gods and heroes of Sanskrit poetry sat serenely in palaces that were the very image of those now rising in the new "City of the Gods". Boat after boat came down the river laden with treasures that had been hidden from the invaders, raft after raft bearing huge old statues of Buddha rescued from the ruined cities. The river banks at Bangkok were mostly

reserved for religious establishments and princely mansions, while the ordinary people lived in floating houses built of paneled wood, the gable ends reproducing in humbler convention the protective cobras of the mighty. These floating houses were comfortable and convenient, for in the fierce heat of the tropics there was always at least a little breeze on the water; the river was a ready-made laundry, bathroom, and highway; and the people were amphibious, learning to swim and paddle a canoe almost as soon as they learned to walk.

At that time Siam was still a medieval country with little interest in the outside world. Wars at home, plus the French Revolution and its succeeding troubles in Europe, had brought to a standstill her once-thriving trade with Britain, France and Holland. She remembered almost nothing of these old contacts except how to cast cannon and use musketry, how to make up one or two medical recipes, and how to prepare a certain kind of French confectionery. She had no diplomatic relations with any country except China, no commerce with any countries but China and India. There was not a single pure-blooded Siamese who could speak any European language, while the only European residents were the French missionaries and a handful of Portuguese traders; the American missionaries did not arrive until 1828. When commercial relations with Europe were at last resumed, progress was slow, and the first British trade missions that arrived were not able to accomplish much.

But, in spite of many restrictions on business, European merchantmen and Yankee clippers presently began to arrive in increasing numbers. A young Siamese nobleman, impressed with their superiority over the Chinese junks, employed British and Portuguese shipwrights to supervise the building of the first modern ship, which he presented to the King. The Government built more such ships, manning them with crews under European officers. But except for the missionaries, with their devotion to good works, most of the foreigners the Siamese saw were adventurers who reflected little credit on their respective countries and aroused no desire to learn more about these distant lands.

As there were few roads, people relied for the most part on water transport—the rivers of the country supplemented by a vast network of canals. Medicine was primitive, consisting chiefly of sorcery plus a few empirical treatments with herbal remedies or massage. Notions of geography and astronomy were based on the traditions of Indian myths. There were no universities, and no schools outside the monasteries. Printing was unknown; books were scarce and expensive, for they existed only in the form of palm-leaf or paper volumes laboriously copied by hand.

The Buddhist religion was professed by the entire nation. But many of the monks were lackadaisical, and their beliefs were a strange distortion of the great Doctrine preached by the Buddha in India more than 2300 years before. The Buddha, rejecting magic and ritual, had taught an ethical and psychological system in which the gods had no significant place: he had but a single aim—mankind's release from suffering—and proposed a very direct method of achieving this aim by discipline of self and kindness to others, based on a proper understanding of the law of cause and effect. But in the course of time the Doctrine had become largely a matter of form and ritual, mystical trances and observances to assure rebirth under happy conditions. For people believed quite literally in transmigration. Not only human beings, but all living creatures, were subject to it. The actions, good or bad, of any creature in this life would determine his status in the next one. Neither demons nor gods were immortal: they had once been men, and were now being temporarily punished or rewarded for actions in some past life. The chain of reincarnations would go on endlessly; the creature who was an animal today might be promoted for good actions to be reborn as a prince in some future life, while today's god, careless of the morrow, might be reborn as a pauper's child or a cripple. In their desire to store up a credit balance that would entitle them to a fortunate rebirth, people were inclined to neglect the major virtues in favor of mechanical "acts of merit", each of which had a predetermined value—so much for endowing a monastery, so much for presenting food to monks; so much for freeing a caged bird, so much for giving

alms to a beggar. But if Buddhism, with its countless opportunities for merit-making, took care of the future life, there were the everyday problems of present existence to be faced—finding money, warding off accident and disease, softening the heart of the beloved. These matters were controlled by myriads of unseen spirits who haunted land and sea and sky. There was a spirit in every tree and rock, in every pool and stream, in every cloud and star. Spirits caused rain or drought, good crops or bad, success or failure in love and gambling and warfare. Though their malice was easy to incur and hard to escape, they could be placated with offerings of food and flowers or coerced with spells. Today only the simple take such spirits seriously; but in those times nearly everyone, no matter how cultivated, believed in them and devoted much effort to their propitiation.

Though western travelers to Bangkok had no trouble in seeing all these evidences of hopeless backwardness, few of them were then able to glimpse the subtle vigor of Siamese culture. It was too alien, too exclusive for them to appreciate. For the Siamese were the inheritors of an ancient and refined tradition, in which the people had little part, but which centered about monastic and palace life.

Some monks lived as hermits. They submitted their bodies to ascetic rigors, purified their minds with mystical disciplines, tamed with their gentleness the birds and timid deer of the forest. Some spent their lives in metaphysical speculation, and though they might accept without question the most fanciful premises they were quick to detect a faulty syllogism. Some lived in close-knit communities in monasteries. Deeply versed in the scholarly tongues of the past, they copied endless manuscripts and devoted themselves to education.

The aristocratic arts flourished in the palaces. Kings and princes, aided by batteries of ghost-writers, composed poetry of a high order. They were the patrons of sculptors and painters, they maintained companies of skilled musicians, they loved to encourage the classical ballet. Cunning artisans made furniture for them,

inlaying it with mother of pearl or painting it in black lacquer covered with a neat wilderness of flowers and tendrils in gold. For the dancers they fashioned expressive masks of papier-mâché and costumes stiff with embroidery. Scrupulous workmanship and a sure sense of design marked all the paraphernalia of princely life—from niello vases to golden jewelry accented with rough gems, from palanquins and howdahs to gaming tables and chessmen. The ladies of the palace, hidden away from the sight of all men except their lord, beguiled their uneventful leisure with graceful pastimes. They accompanied their singing with instruments of music as lovely to look at as they were sweet to hear. They carried the domestic arts to an unheard-of virtuosity, weaving and embroidering delicate cloths, preparing bouquets of delicious food, devoting a whole day to the construction of elaborate flower-pieces whose beauty must soon fade in the cruel sunshine.

III

The King was an absolute monarch, the Lord of Life, the incarnation of Deity itself. His subjects were his chattels, who existed only for his pleasure. All who approached him, whether ministers or slaves, crawled on hands and knees, reverently keeping their heads on a lower level than the August Feet. When he traveled the people were forbidden to look at him. Worshipped as a god and entitled to the most abject obedience, he was nevertheless much less absolute in fact than in theory. All his actions had to conform to iron-clad custom, and he was at the mercy of the educated classes. There was no fixed law to decide the succession; when a ruler died the new King was chosen by a council of princes and high officials. Their usual choice was the eldest son of the King and his Queen, but it might be some other prince—and more than once during the past centuries the death of a ruler had been the signal for a coup d'état.³

King Mongkut was fitted for his career of benevolent revolutionary and religious reformer by an education that must be unique in the annals of monarchy. When he came to the throne he

was already forty-seven years old, and he had spent more than half his life as a Buddhist monk.

He was born in 1804. Being the eldest son of the King and Queen, he was regarded as heir-apparent to the throne. At the age of twenty he became a monk, for it was the custom, then as now, for all young men who could do so to assume the Yellow Robe for a few months so as to get a more exact knowledge of their religion. But ten days later his father, the reigning King, died suddenly. The council, meeting to choose a successor, unexpectedly decided in favor of Prince Mongkut's elder half-brother, who was the late King's son by a wife of non-royal rank. Though his dynastic claims were therefore not so good as Prince Mongkut's, he was selected on the ground of his long experience in statecraft, since his late father—always more interested in art and literature than in government—had for many years relied on him to run the country. Prince Mongkut, knowing the council had acted under pressure, felt cheated. But he resigned himself to the situation; and now, though he had intended to remain a monk only a few months, he decided to stay on indefinitely—protected by the Yellow Robe from the dangers of politics. As it turned out, he did not again become a layman until twenty-seven years later, when he ascended the throne upon the elder half-brother's death.

A westerner might suppose that such a long withdrawal from the cares of ordinary life would be the worst possible preparation for a ruler. On the contrary, it gave him an acute sense of reality and a knowledge of people he could not possibly have got amid the artificialities of palace life. The Buddhist monkhood is a startlingly democratic institution. Its members are drawn from all levels of society, and distinctions of rank depend on function and seniority rather than birth or worldly position. Though the monks do not take perpetual vows, they must follow the precepts strictly as long as they stay in the order: they must refrain absolutely from intoxicants, sex, luxury, lying, stealing, taking life, handling money. They must observe no less than 227 different rules that govern all the minutiae of their daily conduct and manners. They

can have no possessions except the yellow robe, the begging-bowl, and a few personal necessities. They get their food by going forth in the morning, traveling with downcast eyes on foot along the road or by canoe in the canals, pausing only when called by a pious householder who offers to fill their alms-bowl. They must not ask for anything, nor refuse to accept any food offered, nor eat anything after midday.

Such a discipline as this leaves its stamp on a man's character. Prince Mongkut learned at first hand the meaning of humility and self-abnegation, the meaning of loyalty and friendship. In accordance with the usual practice, he made long pilgrimages on foot to different parts of the country, living on such food as the peasants and fishermen put into his begging-bowl. His travels gave him a knowledge of geography that was rare in those days of poor communications, while his friendly talks with the people gave him an insight into their minds and needs such as few rulers ever attain. In his monastic career, religious fervor and restless energy spurred him on; but common sense and a rather skeptical mind guided him. No doubt at first he believed in the spirits and the magic that pervaded Buddhism—for in those days who did not?—but it was not many years before he learned better.

The first monastery where the Prince took up his residence was Wat Smṛai. Now known as Wat Rājādhivāsa, it lies on the left bank of the river in a populous section of Bangkok; but the city was much smaller then, and the monastery lay far outside its walls, in a quiet wood. It was an establishment of "meditative" monks—a strange place, overgrown with trees and vines which these monks, with their exaggerated respect for all forms of life, would not allow to be cut. Their meditations were not the vague musings that we associate with the word: they were self-induced trances that followed a prescribed system. Like Yoga, it was a system of special postures and breathing exercises, austerities and mental acrobatics, designed to give the practitioner complete control over all the functions of his body and mind. When properly done, these practices led to unusual clarity of thought, perhaps even clairvoyance; but they were also supposed to confer supernatural powers.

Observing the real benefits of the system, Prince Mongkut perfected himself in it; but he was disappointed because it could obviously not do all it claimed. Who had invented it, he wondered; what had the Buddha himself taught about it? His companions in the monastery could not tell him: devoted only to semi-magical processes, they cared nothing for the scholarship that could answer these questions.

Since only a small part of the Buddhist scriptures had been translated into Siamese, he had to learn Pāli. So he moved to the Great Relic Monastery (Wat Mahādhātu) inside the city walls, where that language was taught. Having soon mastered it, he plunged into a painstaking study of the texts.

These were years of inward spiritual distress for him. What was the real meaning of the Doctrine? The scriptures were immensely long and contained a wide variety of teaching; perhaps he already felt there was a certain inconsistency in them. One thing at least he was sure of: the Siamese monkhood as it was in those days was a sorry representative of the devoted Community the Buddha himself had organized to carry on his teachings. The rites were observed in a mechanical and sometimes slovenly way, discipline was lax, many monks were corrupt, few of them cared for scholarship. The ardent young Prince thought of quitting the Order altogether: was it not a travesty of Buddha's law for him to remain among these men who gave it only lip service? In an agony of doubt he went with candles and flowers into the monastery hall, where a great image of Buddha, remote but gentle, gleamed in the semi-darkness. Here he made an offering to the spirits of heaven, beseeching them to send a sign to guide him. A few days after this he met a monk belonging to the Peguan sect, which seemed to be more faithful in carrying out the ancient rites. Prince Mongkut accepted the encounter as a miraculous sign, and resolved to follow their rites and practices with the greatest strictness, even in such small details as the pronunciation of Pāli words and the manner of wearing the Yellow Robe.

But presently Prince Mongkut came to realize that there were more important things in Buddhism than these formalities. In the ensuing years a number of young monks who shared his point of view gathered around him. They were zealous but open-minded students, eager to know the Doctrine and follow it. In his many discussions with them his ideas developed rapidly. If Buddhism was to be anything but a mockery, if it was to be a power for good, it must be true and honest. In 1837, when he was made Abbot of the "Excellent Abode" Monastery (Wat Pavaranivesa), these monks became the nucleus of a new sect he founded to spearhead a reform movement within the church. The very name of the new sect (Dhammayutta) was a constant reminder to its members that they must "Adhere to the Doctrine." But precisely what was this Doctrine they were to adhere to? Certainly it was not the Doctrine as usually preached in those days, for that contained much that was contrary to common sense. It should be Buddha's own Doctrine, stripped of all apocryphal matter. So the first duty of the new sect must be devotion to study in order to determine exactly what that was.

Prince Mongkut knew that the texts he had to work with were full of inaccuracies. They had been pieced together from fragments that survived in provincial towns when the old capital, with all its books, went up in flames. The most earnest efforts to correct them had not been wholly successful. He therefore sent to Ceylon to borrow another set—seventy volumes in all; then, having assembled the best Pāli scholars in Siam, he had the different versions compared, revised, and copied.²

A little before this time he had come in contact with a new and important influence—western thought. It was many years before Anna was to appear on the scene, so he had to be content with the less strenuous but more solid learning of Christian missionaries. A French Catholic bishop taught him Latin, an American Presbyterian minister taught him English.³ These two men became his close friends. They introduced him to the study of modern science, especially geography and astronomy, in which he became passionately interested; they gave him some idea of comparative religion;

they lent him books. He sent abroad for more books, which he read eagerly and discussed at length with them. As he learned more about Christianity he saw a great deal of good in it, for its ethics were surprisingly close to the ethics of Buddhism; but he would not accept its Bible stories. More than once he gently said to his Christian friends: "What you teach people to do is admirable, but what you teach them to believe is foolish".

But if there were foolish stories in the Bible, were there not just as many in the Buddhist scriptures? The Buddhist writers conceived of the earth as a flat disk surrounding a central mountain on which the gods dwelt: was that not just as contrary to science and common sense as the Biblical account of the Creation? The Prince was too honest to deny it. The absurdities ought to be rejected and the real Doctrine preserved; but how? A critical study of the texts, not in the spirit of faith, but in the light of reason, should give the answer. For it was plain enough that they contain two very different veins of thought.

One of these veins of thought is rational and humanistic. The Buddha is a human being, a wise and gentle teacher. The Doctrine, lucidly exposed, is both a philosophy and a system of ethics. It maintains that no individual—whether animal, man, or god (if gods exist)—is permanent. Each is a compound, a putting together, of elements such as form, matter, and mental qualities; in each individual, without any exception, the relation of the component parts, constantly changing, is never the same for any two consecutive moments. No sooner has separateness, individuality, begun, than dissolution, disintegration, begins too. The single aim of mankind should be to abolish suffering. Belief in God is of no importance, while prayers for divine intervention are both useless and distracting. For the only way to abolish suffering is to do good and refrain from evil. Men must do good, not in order to reach heaven or to please God, but in order to be happy themselves and make others happy; they must refrain from evil deeds not because evil deeds are sinful but because they cause suffering to both victim and doer. Since this philosophy was not easy for simple minds to

grasp, the Buddha tirelessly repeated the great ethical principle: "Take joy in the joys of others, take sorrow at the sorrows of others, be indifferent to your own joys and sorrows" — this program alone would abolish suffering. By rooting out all evil from their thoughts and deeds, men can become spiritually invulnerable and need no longer dread the otherwise eternal cycle of rebirths.⁴

The other vein of thought in the scriptures is pietistic and transcendental. The Buddha has become a kind of super-god who performs miracles with ease, lies about from heaven to heaven, converts myriads of gods to his Doctrine, teaches his disciples charms to tame demons. The righteous worship him with an emotional extravagance in which blind faith crowds out reason. Forgetting that virtue alone can free them from sorrow and the cycle of rebirths, they have invented an easy technique to get to heaven by means of mechanical "acts of merit", such as adoring the towers that enshrine holy relics, or practising the trances.

In passages where the first type of thinking predominates, Buddha's own words seemed to be faithfully recorded. They had the ring of truth; they were the words of a supremely rational man. How could the same man have given his assent to the pompous follies of the other passages? Prince Mongkut had seen how easy it is for mistakes to creep into manuscripts, and he knew that four hundred years had elapsed between the Buddha's lifetime and the writing of the scriptures—four hundred years during which the teachings had been passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. The monks entrusted with this huge task of memory had had plenty of chances to make interpolations of their own. Such interpolations threatened to undermine Buddha's true meaning. And the copyists' errors, multiplying over a period of two thousand years, had further confused it.

In a touching passage, which was surely genuine, the Buddha had authorized a certain skepticism. He had begged his disciples not to accept any belief merely because it was handed down by tradition or preached by some respected teacher—even himself; they must test every belief with their own powers of

reason. This was the criterion Prince Mongkut and his followers used, and the reconstruction of the true Doctrine followed naturally. The miracles were exaggerations, the accounts of gods and demons simply parables that had become confused with historical record, the absurd cosmography a spurious insertion.

When the errors were stripped away, the Doctrine re-emerged as a moral system of incomparable beauty. It was this Doctrine to which the reform sect must adhere. A particular way of wearing the Yellow Robe, a particular way of carrying the alms-bowl—these were the external badges of the sect: but infinitely more important was devotion to learning, freedom from superstition, zeal for restoring the great ethical and moral principles to their proper place. In this sect there was no selling of spells and love-philters, no casting of horoscopes, no propitiation of spirits. Prince Mongkut and his followers gave morality a fresh meaning, making, its most serious aspects known to the people at large in terms they could easily understand—this Buddhism was to be the heritage of the whole people, not merely the monks. The services had formerly consisted only of incomprehensible Pāli chanting; but the new sect added sermons in Siamese. They attracted crowds of listeners. Again and again they preached the five main precepts—abstention from falsehood, theft, murder, intoxication, and adultery. They urged both monks and laymen to realize the necessity of self-restraint, kindness, and tolerance in daily life.

By his judicious selections and rejections, Prince Mongkut had created a new Buddhism—or, as he more modestly thought, revived the original Doctrine. He was fond of saying that there is nothing in it that conflicts with modern science. But what of the belief in transmigration, which seems so fanciful to westerners? He did not reject it, but gave it a more philosophic interpretation. He could point to the laws of physics to show that given causes produce given effects. If these laws govern the material universe, was it not reasonable to assume that similar ones govern the moral domain, so that every deed, whether good or evil, is inevitably

followed by its appropriate consequence, either in this life or the future? Though there was no "soul" to be reborn, the "energy of action" was everlasting. Such conceptions were hard for simple people to grasp; and to them, if they had any doubts about transmigration, he gave the simple answer that Buddha himself had given: "If you are not sure, you had better be on the safe side. If you believe in it, you will lead a good life, gain the respect of all, and lose nothing even if it turns out you have guessed wrong. But if you reject it, you will very likely follow your own evil desires; and in this case if it turns out you have guessed wrong you will be like a traveler without provisions."

The new Buddhism made a sharp distinction between different kinds of supposed acts of merit. A few were utterly wrong, such as when misguided zealots killed themselves or cut off a finger as a sacrifice to Buddha: these it roundly condemned. Many were harmless, such as building miniature pagodas of sand or carrying Buddha images in procession: these it tolerated as "reminders" of the Doctrine. But above all it encouraged acts of merit that were of real social value: while only the rich could afford to build monasteries and hospitals, the poor could bridge a stream with a few bamboo poles or remove sharp thorns from a path; all could give alms, in proportion to their means, in money or in service; all could practise kindness and self-restraint.

Prince Mongkut, the mature Abbot of the Excellent Abode Monastery, resolute in his principles and gently scornful of superstition, was a very different man from Prince Mongkut, the unhappy young monk who had made an offering to the spirits of heaven and asked for a sign to guide him. He knew now that the only sure guide is man's own reason. His Christian friends had once thought they were on the point of converting him; but his skeptical nature would never have allowed him to accept any religion that relied on divine revelation rather than human reason. In his view, faith was rather a hindrance than a help to virtue—but if other people found that faith helped them to be good there was no great harm in it. So he gave the missionaries every facility for doing their work, and—far from having any jealous wish to impede their freedom of

speech—he invited them to deliver sermons in his own monastery and to distribute their tracts at Buddhist ceremonies. The Christian body of ethics, as distinguished from Christian belief, appealed both to his reason and to his innate goodness; and it seems to have had some part in the formation of the new Buddhism.

The reforms did not please all Buddhists. Some conservative monks held to the old practices from conviction, some from self-interest. Prince Mongkul had no authority to change the church as a whole. But the reform sect, partly because of its intrinsic superiority, and perhaps even more because of Prince Mongkut's personal magnetism, attracted many of the best minds. And little by little the rest of the church was forced to take note of its example and to correct its own most glaring deficiencies.

After Prince Mongkut became King in 1851, he took care not to favor the reform sect over the church in general. He wanted people to do right because they believed in doing right, not because they were commanded to do so.⁵

IV

"The King is of middle height, thin, with a somewhat austere countenance," wrote Sir John Bowring, who visited him in 1855.⁶

The frontispiece of Sir John's book is a portrait of the King, reproduced from a tinted photograph. The Royal sitter was about fifty years old at the time, though he looks much younger. But obviously the picture has not been touched up to flatter him, for it shows with candid realism a disfigured right ear and the mouth skewed to one side, as if from a mild stroke. The features are otherwise regular and well-formed, the complexion clear, the eyes frank. Though the face cannot be called handsome, it has a haunting beauty of expression that reveals the man's outstanding qualities: energy directed by common sense, irony tempered with gentleness.

Anna, who first saw him seven years later, describes him as a "withered grasshopper". To her there was something repulsive in both his face and his character—though he had many noble traits, his cynicism was detestable: though his intentions were good, he was always at the mercy of his own angry passions.

Her estimate is too harsh; but I have no wish to replace it with one too favorable. The Siamese official historians—who are as prone as official historians the world over to uncritical eulogy—make him into a model of virtue that seems rather lifeless. He was too large - scale a man to be fitted into the conventional pattern of the Divine King. In Anna's account he at least emerges as a great monarch whose faults, like his virtues, are heroic in proportion. To the Americans who knew him, his skepticism in regard to the superstitions that pervaded the old Buddhism was admirable so far as it went, but it did not go far enough, for he himself remained incurably superstitious—whereas his skepticism toward Christianity went entirely too far. They saw his character as irregular and inconsistent - shrewd but arbitrary; magnanimous but suspicious and easily offended; alternately generous and niggardly, kind and vindictive; a great humanitarian at one turn and petty beyond belief at another. Even his own correspondence reveals him as something of a paradox.⁷

Yet how could he have been otherwise than "suspicious" when so many people were trying to take advantage of him, and when the agents of European imperialism were plotting to reduce his kingdom to a colony? If he had not sometimes been "niggardly", even the vast treasury available to him would have been soon exhausted by the demands on his generosity. If he had not sometimes been "vindictive", many dangerous wrongdoers would have gone free. If he had not sometimes been "petty", he would not have been human,

There is no doubt that he was quick-tempered. Yet more than one incident in his life shows that he did not bear a grudge for long, and he seemed to take real pleasure in forgiving people who had tried to injure him. Perhaps it was because he was

aware of his own impulsiveness that he had preached so earnestly in favor of "forbearance from anger". He knew the practical value of Buddha's advice to his friends: "If others speak against me, there is no reason why you should be angry with them. If you yield to anger, you will not only sustain a spiritual loss, but you will also be unable to judge whether their assertions are true or not true".

Although he was now King, he never forgot that he was still a human being living in a human world. He did not regard his subjects as chattels. He had known them as real people, lived on friendly terms with their brothers and their sons in the monasteries, received their alms and hospitality when making his long pilgrimages. He had known the villagers and country folk as well as the townspeople. He had seen how some officials are just and kindly, others corrupt and grasping. He had talked much with humble men - coolies and slaves, peasants and elephant hunters, fishermen and pearl-divers. He had seen fierce bandits and wandering sea-gypsies. He had ventured into distant mountains and glimpsed the primitive tribes who lived like shy animals in the forest. He knew of the remote matriarchal communities that still survived, ruled by grim-faced women with harems of pretty men. He had seen the pygmies of the south, and heard with horror how the Malay rajahs hunted them for sport. These were all his people; his world was not confined by the walls of palace and monastery, his responsibility not limited to guarding the welfare of grandees and monks.

This sense of duty to his whole people stands out as the guiding principle of every important act in his career, every edict he issued, every reform he introduced.

Twice every year, for five centuries, the Siamese Kings had received a solemn pledge of loyalty from the princes and government officials, who gathered to "drink the water of allegiance" and call down terrible disasters on their own heads if ever they should betray their oath. In former days the monarch himself took no part in it. But King Mongkut introduced a characteristic amend-

ment: when they made their pledge to him, he pledged his own loyalty to the whole people.⁸

Diplomacy and rational contact with Europeans had long been impeded by a custom that required foreigners, as well as Siamese, to crawl on all fours when approaching the August Feet. His predecessor had relaxed the rule slightly, but had received foreigners with distant formality. King Mongkut decreed that they should be allowed to stand up in his presence or assume any other posture that the manners of their country deemed respectful. For his own subjects he permitted the old custom to continue—it was deeply ingrained in them, and though Americans thought it shockingly servile the Siamese felt it much less odd than our own custom of standing up in the presence of a superior.

Four years after he came to the throne, the British mission headed by Sir John Bowring arrived in Bangkok. Previous Kings, wedded to a policy of isolation, had taken little interest in such missions; but King Mongkut welcomed this one cordially, and in record time a workable treaty of diplomatic and commercial relations was signed.⁹

The consequences of the treaty were far-reaching. Foreign trade had been for the most part a monopoly of the Crown and a few powerful officials. Now a host of restrictions and taxes were to be swept away. To make up for the loss of revenue the whole system of taxation had to be revised. Commerce with the British grew by leaps and bounds; similar treaties were signed with other nations; increased business brought increased prosperity.

Europeans and Americans were now no longer such a rarity in Siam as before. They introduced new products, efficient techniques, stimulating ideas. The King and a few of his friends knew these changes were necessary and beneficial; but the rest of his countrymen looked at them with indifference or hostility. The nobles whose monopolies had been destroyed were unhappy; conservative people wondered whether the innovations would not destroy everything that was good in the old traditions. The Siamese are not naturally xenophobes—they have too much curiosity for

that—but a century of isolationism had made them wary. During that period the influence of China had been strong, and they had seen few Europeans other than unprincipled adventurers and greedy empire-builders. (People like the missionaries were an exception.) To the polite and graceful Siamese the bearded foreigners—overbearing, rough-voiced, clumsy—were grotesque: comical and rather repugnant. So the new ideas constantly bumped against a wall of stubborn inertia. It was all very well, the King thought, for him to be acknowledged an Absolute Monarch; but how could he hope to break down the huge passive resistance against innovation? Yet in spite of many discouragements, his resolution did not waver, nor his benevolent ingenuity fail.

His edicts give a fascinating picture of the course of his reforms. Each law starts out rather pompously, with the King's full titles and the formula: "By Royal Command, reverberating like the Roar of a Lion". Then comes an almost conversational preamble, outlining the circumstances and reasons that made him issue the edict, often adding gently ironical comments. Finally comes the decree itself.

One of these laws shows his determination not to shut himself off from his people: "It has been brought to His Majesty's attention that wherever he chooses to proceed by land or water, the authorities always chase his subjects out of the way, ordering them to close all the doors and windows in their houses and shops. Such a practise is graciously considered by His Majesty to be more harmful than good. In the first place, those among the people who are acquainted with His Majesty are deprived of the opportunity to see him. In the second place, houses and shops with closed doors and windows provide the best hiding place for those who wish to hide, among whom none can distinguish between sane men and lunatics. It is hereby provided that henceforth people gathered along the route of the Royal Procession shall not be chased away, but all householders shall be permitted to appear before the sight of His Majesty, so that he may speak to those he knows and gladden their hearts."

In the same spirit, he used to come out of the Palace at stated intervals to receive the petitions of the people. He knew that the creaking legal and administrative machinery of the country left plenty of room for abuses: even in the metropolis petty officials were often corrupt, and in outlying regions the vassal princes were all but absolute. He could not reform the administration with one clean sweep; but he gradually broke down the special privileges of the nobles before the law, preparing a long-term modernization plan which was to take effect step by step. Meanwhile he could encourage his subjects, in deserving cases, to by-pass the antiquated procedures by appealing directly to him.

He insisted on the principle of toleration in political matters. Judges had formerly been appointed by the King in his own discretion, but now certain ones of them were to be elected—not, indeed, by the people at large (that would have been an idle gesture in those days when there was no such thing as popular education), but by all the princes and government officials. Here are the terms of his edict establishing the rules of voting: "No one is obliged to confine his choice to the servants of the Crown. On the contrary any person, even though he be a slave, who is believed to possess sufficient wisdom and restraint to be able to give clear and satisfactory judgment in accordance with truth, justice, and the law may be elected a judge The electors are further requested not to treat this election as a joke. Nor should they hesitate, thinking that perhaps their choice would not meet with His Majesty's approval. Such a habit of thought should be entirely discarded. For human hearts vary one from the other, and well may the choices in the election differ because it is His Majesty's wish that they be freely made."

There are several edicts dealing with the condition of the slaves. Slavery in Siam was not the terrible institution that it was in some other lands—the slaves, who were immensely numerous and not very hard-worked, usually received the same sort of good-natured treatment as poor relations. But they were at the mercy of their masters, and a bad master could make their lives

"ornaments of every character—many *lusus naturae*, such as extraordinarily-formed horns of the rhinoceros and tusks of the elephant—many statues from Europe, porcelain vases from China—ancient garments worn by former kings—specimens of elaborately-carved ivory and wood—gold and silver ornaments, with jewellery in endless variety—many statues of Buddha, one of which is said to be of massive gold..."¹²

In the course of his pilgrimages as a young monk he had gazed in wonder at the huge mysterious monuments that lay broken in far off jungles; he had rescued ancient stone inscriptions, including the famous stela of the great Rama Kamhaeng who ruled at Sukhodaya in the 13th century.¹³ Now he invited French archeologists to come and study these antiquities, in the hope of laying open the secrets of the past by using modern techniques. It was a good beginning, which was to yield impressive results in later reigns.

At the same time he was doing these things to preserve the culture of the past, the King was giving new vigor to the culture of the present. He had a sure taste in literature and art: in boyhood he had sat at his father's feet listening to the Kingly poet reciting his works, or followed him while he inspected the progress of some new painting that was to brighten the walls of monastery or palace. King Mongkut could write classical poetry bristling with the traditional Sanskrit, and Pāli chants that are models of literary style. But these, he knew, were of little use for the general public: for them he wrote in clear and homely Siamese. Painting and sculpture should not exist solely for the pleasure of the elegant few; they must also be mobilized for the great work of enlightening the masses. The people's social life had always centered in their local monastery compounds, where there were plenty of ceremonies and fairs at which laymen could combine pleasure with merit-making. Previous Kings had encouraged the use of monasteries for education; books were few, but wall paintings could teach secular matters as well as religious. King Mongkut's half-brother, when restoring the great "Bo-Tree" Monastery (Jetavana), had commanded the artists to turn it

into an encyclopedia in stone and pictures that would expound all the traditional knowledge: astrology and geography, the races of men and demons, military science, anatomy, medicinal herbs and the Yoga technique of massage.¹⁴ But with the arrival of new ideas of science from the west, all this became an obsolete curiosity—to be carefully preserved for historical reasons, but no longer to be relied on for serious instruction. The Excellent Abode Monastery was more up-to-date. Upon its walls artists painted steamboats and railways and scenes from contemporary life—even a picture of the English Derby that is a lively copy of an Alken print.

The King was a great builder. He liked adapting European architecture to Siamese needs. His preference was for cool stuccoed buildings of one storey, ridge-roofed and colonnaded, whose aspect recalls in simpler form the glories of the late Greek Revival in South Carolina and Louisiana—but with judicious touches of the Chinese decoration that had been popular in the previous reign. The combination was harmonious and suitable—and not so bizarre as it sounds, for the formula is basically the same as Chippendale's.

The summer palace the King built at Petburī is a dream of beauty: here on the summit of a big hill that rises steeply out of a boundless sea of rice-fields, the white oblong buildings ramble in free improvisation; while around and among them, now grown into a wilderness, are hundreds of frangipani trees, whose name in Siamese—rhyming with the word for “anguish of heart”—recalls the wistful fragrance of their flowers.

What of his private life? What of the big harem which has aroused feelings ranging from envy to hilarity in American audiences?

Anna describes it with all the timeworn stage-properties that Victorian writers kept on hand in case they wanted to depict the organized lechery of Oriental despots—the eunuchs, the hideous sufferings of the women, brutality of the sensual monarch. Her account is really too absurd to stand unchallenged; and recently

a Siamese statesman, who is also an historian, has gone to some pains to set the record straight.¹⁵

It is quite true that King Mongkut had scores of wives, who presented him with an innumerable offspring. But large-scale polygamy was not a mere device of Royal lewdness. Like the god Indra, whose heavenly court is adorned with thousands of lovely nymphs, tradition insisted that the King, who is Indra on earth, should be served by a large harem. Royal polygamy was also a recognized instrument of statecraft: the King could cement the loyalty of vassal princes and powerful nobles by marrying their daughters. Finally, it was always desirable for a King to provide a numerous succession. King Mongkut had been married and had two children before he became a monk; but during his twenty-seven years in the Order he had faithfully observed the rule of celibacy. When he ascended the throne it was his duty to make up for lost time and have as many children as possible.

His correspondence shows that he was a devoted and even tender husband to more than one of his wives, and an affectionate father to his many children. He had a smaller harem than his predecessors, and except for a few of the ladies to whom he was really attached, he set little store by it. He was already well past the first flush of youth; when Anna first met him he was fifty-eight years old. His loyal subjects, wishing to have him for a son-in-law, were more eager to present their daughters to him than he was to accept them. A Royal Edict, reverberating like the Roar of a Lion, puts the predicament frankly: the King has far more wives than he needs. It goes on to set up specific rules by which they can resign and marry private persons.¹⁶

Although she must have known these facts, Anna asserts that one of King Mongkut's wives, having run off with a monk, was publicly tortured and burned at the stake with the partner of her guilt. The Siamese have always had a horror of death by fire—whether for themselves or anyone else; and even in medieval times they seldom if ever inflicted this punishment. King Mongkut, more humane than his predecessors—and more humane than many

contemporary governments in the west, for that matter—did everything within reason to reduce the severity of punishments.¹⁷ So far from being a sadist, he hated even to sign a death-warrant for a common murderer, and whenever he had to do so he would sit up all night in an agony of mind, repeating to himself passages from the Buddhist scriptures. The alleged burning of the lady and her lover, though described as a public affair seen by the whole of Bangkok, escaped the notice of all other writers, Siamese or European. Anna herself seems to have had some qualms: "To do the King justice," she writes, "I must add here that, having been educated a priest, he had been taught to regard the crime of which they were accused as the most deadly sin that could be committed." She quotes him as saying: "Our laws are severe for such a crime".

But were they? The law provided only that an unchaste monk was to be expelled from the Order, given a beating, and made to cut grass for the Royal elephants. In an Order that numbered scores of thousands, unchaste monks were not so rare that the elephants ever lacked grass; if the punishment had been as Anna says, the gruesome blazes would have been a common sight. Or are we to believe the crime was aggravated by the fact that one of the ladies of the harem was involved? Hardly; for in such a case even the ancient law, which was no longer enforced, provided death by drowning for the lady and by impalement for the man—a cruel enough punishment, but *not* death by fire. King Mongkut allowed his wives to resign at will; and it is a matter of record that when a boatman abducted one of them he was let off with a fine amounting to about six dollars.¹⁸

The fact is that Anna must have made up the whole story after finishing her first book, for it appears only in her second. She may have gotten the idea from a silly piece of doggerel quoted in a book by an Englishman who had spent several months in Siam many years before King Mongkut came to the throne. It purports to be a translation of an old song—"a lament supposed to be uttered by a guilty priest, previous to his suffering along with the partner of his guilt the dreadful punishment attached to his transgression." The last stanza is worth repeating:

"Behold the faggots blaze up high,
The smoke is black and dense;

The sinews burst, and crack, and fly:
Oh suffering intense!

The roar of fire and shriek of pain,
And the blood that boils and splashes.

These all consume—the search were vain
For the lovers' mingled ashes." 19

Some of her fabrication are easier to spot—as when she tells us that King Mongkut locked up disobedient wives in a subterranean dungeon in the Palace. Anyone who has lived in Bangkok knows it is impossible to build any sort of underground room in that watery soil. 20

Another episode can be brought to justice by literary detective work. Referring to a new gate built in the palace wall in 1865, Anna says that King Mongkut had some innocent passersby butchered and their corpses buried under the gate-posts so that their restless spirits might forever haunt the place and drive intruders away. Now it is a fact that this brutal form of insurance had been practised in much earlier days. But it was the sort of thing that King Mongkut, who was both humane and rational, was utterly opposed to; no other writer accuses him of resorting to it. There is, however, a detailed account of just such a sacrifice in a French missionary's report for 1831—long before King Mongkut came to the throne. Anna gives the same details, uses the same phraseology, and carelessly leaves a proof of her transposed plagiarism: she translates the French word *cordes* as "cords" rather than "ropes". Obviously she had moved the incident thirty-four years forward and accused the wrong man. 21

This is the kind of thing that makes her books so exasperating to the sober historian. Though there is much good in them, it is useless, for not a single statement can be accepted without confirmation from elsewhere. Analysis sheds a rather cruel light on her methods.

V

Whenever there was a solar eclipse, old-fashioned Siamese thought a demon was seizing the sun in his teeth and trying to swallow it. Then they would set up an ear-splitting din, with rattles and drums and firecrackers, in order to scare the demon into letting go.

King Mongkut's interest in eclipses was more scientific. Even the cares of state had not weakened his passion for astronomy. His private apartments in the Grand Palace, Sir John Bowring tells us, "were filled with various instruments, philosophical and mathematical; a great variety of Parisian clocks and pendules, thermometers, barometers, telescopes, microscopes, statues,-among which I remarked those of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, nearly of the size of life.... in a word, all the instruments and appliances which might be found in the study or library of an opulent philosopher in Europe". 22

He calculated the exact moment when the total eclipse of 1868 would take place. Having determined that it could be seen best from a remote village in the southern part of his kingdom, near the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, he decided to give an intellectual houseparty there to observe it. He invited Sir Harry Ord, the British Governor of Singapore, to sail up with a suite of officers and their ladies, and meet him at the appointed place. The French Government would send a body of scientists from Paris. He himself would bring several of his wives and children, a number of government officials, and some Siamese gentlemen who were interested in astronomy. The party also included the acting British Consul in Bangkok, Mr. Alabaster, who stood high in the friendship of the Royal Family; this scholarly man was working on a book which he later published under the title *The Wheel of the Law*, and which remains today the finest study of Siamese Buddhism in any European language. 23

The Royal party, sailing down the river and into the Gulf, landed on the coast near the observation point. Workmen had been busy for months clearing a space in the forest beside the

beach, building a great temporary palace and guest-house, sitting up a special observatory. To the astonishment of most of the European guests—who were not yet acquainted with Siamese hospitality and had been looking forward with mixed emotions to the discomforts of a far-off jungle—the food was prepared by a French chef, the carefully-chosen wines were served by an Italian maitre d'hôtel, and the champagne was cooled with an abundance of ice, which was then the rarest of luxuries. In the evening, while companies of graceful dancers performed episodes from the Indian epics, the King conversed informally with his guests. They had scarcely expected to see his ladies (don't Oriental monarchs always keep their wives locked up in a stuffy harem?)—yet there they were, neither timid nor aloof, but graceful and perfectly at ease. And nothing could have been more delightful than the Royal children, with their pretty manners and their English chit-chat.

At dawn on the great day the weather was bad. Dense clouds came up from the southwest, and a dreary rain was falling. When the eclipse began, the clouds quite obscured the sun; but a few moments later they broke away. The observations made by the various scientific groups—Siamese, English and French—were a complete success.

Meanwhile the people of the nearby village had been busily beating drums and setting off firecrackers. The King remarked with a smile to his guests that they must not think these people were trying to frighten the demon: they were merely celebrating their sovereign's skill in having been able to calculate the moment of the eclipse more accurately than the European astronomers. ²⁴

The party was over. The Court set sail and returned to the capital. But the King had caught a fever during the trip; his health, instead of mending when he reached home, grew rapidly worse.

In death, as in life, the Buddha's example was his model. Rational men do not think of Buddha as a god: King Mongkut had

heaven, some in the wiser knowledge that they clarify the mind, some in the mere certainty that they ease the physical pain of death. Now King Mongkut passed into these trances.

What visions did the dying King see? Did the trances bring on that clairvoyance that some people claimed for them? If the future was unveiled to him, he must have seen much to give him satisfaction. He would have seen the throne pass, as he had hoped, to his son Prince Chulalongkorn, who was then a boy of sixteen. The dying King would have seen this Prince reign long and gloriously, bringing the benevolent revolution to success; he would have seen his other sons carrying on his work, one or another specializing in each of the several fields that had engaged his own versatile attention—religion, diplomacy, government, science, archeology. He would have seen among his grandsons progressive leaders to press forward in the course he had laid out. He would have seen his great-grandchildren (of whom the present King of Siam is one) preserving the tradition and receiving their people's love with a reciprocal devotion. The dying King might have seen some funny things as well—things that would have appealed to his sense of irony. For while in his own land he would be remembered with justice and love, in America he would be known as a petulant barbarian or a melodious clown.

But probably his trances brought no such clairvoyance. He set little store by their powers in this respect, and scorned the idea that trances were an easy step to rebirth in paradise. He was much too subtle a philosopher to think of rebirth as involving the survival of a personal soul: the psychic personality, like the material body, was in constant disintegration from moment to moment; the only thing that could possibly be "reborn" was the energy stirred up by every action, good or evil, and continuing forever. When unsophisticated men were in doubt about rebirth, he had reminded them of Buddha's advice to be on the safe side; but he knew this advice was an oversimplification, adapted to the limitations of his listeners.

Yet he himself *had* been on the safe side—not for any such simple reason, but for a far deeper one. For he knew that through the working of a natural law as immutable as the laws of physics, his deeds would be followed by their consequences—consequences that might not be felt by any surviving consciousness of his own, but that would dominate the destinies of future generations in the land he loved. He *had* led a good life, and gained the respect of all (except Anna). Now, even if it were to turn out that he had not guessed exactly right, he would have lost nothing. He would not be like a traveler without provisions.

NOTES

1. Among the sources I have drawn on for this section are the following: Kaempfer, *History of Japan* (London, 1906); La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam* (Paris, 1691); Wood, *History of Siam* (Bangkok, 1933); Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *Introduction of Western Culture in Siam* (JSS XX); Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law* (London, 1871); Wells, *Thai Buddhism* (Bangkok, 1939); Pallegoix, *Description du royaume thai ou Siam* (Paris, 1854).

2. In this section I am chiefly indebted to M. Lingat's excellent article, *La vie religieuse du roi Mongkut* (JSS XX), which, as he states in a note, is based in large part on three works in Siamese: *History of Wat Smòrai*, by King Chulalongkorn; *History of Wat Mahādhātu*, by Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, and *History of Wat Pavaraniveśa*, begun by the Prince Patriarch Vajirañāna and finished by Prince Damrong. The second and third of these sources were more fully used by M. Lingat in his *History of Wat Mahādhātu* (JSS XXIV) and his *History of Wat Pavaraniveśa* (JSS XXVI,) both of which have furnished me with helpful material. King Chulalongkorn, the Prince Patriarch, and Prince Damrong were all three sons of King Mongkut. M. Lingat, long advisor to the Ministry of Justice, is one of the foremost European scholars of the Siamese language and a leading authority on Buddhism.

3. "The King was taught Latin by the French Catholic missionaries, principally by Bishop Pallegoix. English he began to study in 1845, principally availing himself of the United States missionaries. Mr. Caswell devoted a year and a half to instructing him four times a week, one hour each lesson. He occupied himself with astronomical investigations, and is able to calculate an eclipse." Sir John Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (London, 1857) I, 440.

4. In discussing the Doctrine as it was originally conceived by the Buddha I have followed Rhys Davids. Though the accuracy of his view has been contested by more recent European scholars, it remains pertinent because it coincides with the views of King Mongkut and of the highest Buddhist authorities in Siam today.

5. Besides the articles I have cited in Note 2, three works are indispensable to the student of Buddhism in Siam: Pallegoix, *Description du royaume thai ou Siam* (Paris, 1854); Wells, *Thai Buddhism* (Bangkok, 1939); and Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law* (London, 1871). Pallegoix was the French Catholic Bishop of Bangkok, who taught King Mongkut Latin; Dr. Wells is an American missionary who spent many years in Siam; Alabaster was interpreter at the British Consulate and later Acting British Consul in Bangkok. Alabaster's book is particularly valuable for its description of Buddhist beliefs both before and after Prince Mongkut's reforms; a large section of it is translated from a Siamese book, *The Modern Buddhist*, by Jao-p'yâ Dibākara; that author, who was a personal friend of Alabaster, reflected King Mongkut's views faithfully. Princess Poon's *Buddhism for the Young* (Bangkok, 1929) is a booklet of more importance than might be supposed from its modest appearance; the Princess, who is a daughter of Prince Damrong and a granddaughter of King Mongkut, furnishes English readers with a clear and concise summary of the beliefs of educated Buddhists in Siam today. Some interesting information on European influences in King Mongkut's thinking will be found in Prince Damrong, *Introduction of Western Culture in Siam* (JSS XX). A good summary of King Mongkut's career is given by Frankfurter in JSS I.

6. Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (London, 1857), I, 441.

7. For this summary I am indebted to Mr. Kenneth P. Landon, who has studied the correspondence and read through a great quantity of missionary records.

8. See Frankfurter, *King Mongkut* (JSS I.).

9. Bowring, *op. cit.*

10. For King Mongkut's edicts, see M.R. Seni Pramoj, *King Mongkut as a Legislator* (JSS XXXVIII); I have also consulted an unpublished manuscript by M.R. Seni Pramoj and M.R. Kükrit Pramoj, *The King of Siam Speaks*.

11. Bowring, II, 279.

12. Bowring, I, 412, II, 313.

13. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam* (Bangkok, 1924).

14. Prince Dhani Nivat Kromamün Bidyalabh, *Inscriptions of Wat Jetubon* (JSS XXVI).

15. See note 10.

16. See note 10.

17. Prince Dhani Nivat Kromamün Bidyalabh, review of *Anna and the King of Siam*, Bangkok Standard, September 1946.

18. See note 10.

19. Neale, *Narrative of a Residence at the Capital of the Kingdom of Siam* (London, 1852). The author, a flippant but well-meaning young man, writes of Siam as he saw it in 1840-41; his account, though superficial, avoids Anna's aberrations. He does not give either the date or the source of the "old song," and nowhere suggests that anyone in Bangkok had ever been burned at the stake. Though it is hard to imagine anyone seriously consulting Neale as a source, Anna knew his book and plagiarized from it freely; her list of "Common Maxims of the Priests" follows the wording of Neale's "Maxims of the Talapoints or Priests" too closely to suppose she took it directly from La Loubère, who was Neale's source.

20. Prince Dhani Nivat Kromamün Bidyalabh, review of *Anna and the King of Siam*, Bangkok Standard, September 1946.

21. The parallel passages speak for themselves.

"Two [officers], stationed just within the entrance, assume the character of neighbors and friends, calling loudly to this or that passenger, and continually repeating familiar names. The peasants and market folk, who are always passing at that hour, hearing these calls, stop, and turn to see who is wanted. Instantly the myrmidons of the san-luang rush from their hiding-places, and arrest, haphazard, six of them—three for each gate. From that moment the doom of these astonished, trembling wretches is sealed. No petitions, payments, prayers, can save them. In the centre of the gateway a deep fosse or ditch is dug, and over it is suspended by two cords an enormous beam. On the 'auspicious' day for the sacrifice, the innocent, unresisting victims—'hinds and churls' perhaps, of the lowest degree in Bangkok—are mocked with a dainty and elaborate banquet, and then conducted in state to their fatal post of honor. The King and all the court make Profound obeisance before them, his Majesty adjuring them earnestly 'to guard with devotion the gate, now about to be intrusted to their keeping, from all dangers and calamities; and to come in season to forewarn him, if either traitors within or enemies without should conspire against the peace of his people or the safety of his throne.' Even as the last word of this exhortation falls from the royal lips, the cords are cut, the ponderous engine 'squelches' the heads of the distinguished wretches, and three Bangkok ragamuffins are metempsychosed into three guardian-angels [*Thevedah*]." Anna Leonowens, *The English Governess at the Siamese Court*, page 219.

"Lorsqu'on construit une nouvelle porte aux remparts de la ville, ou lorsqu'on en répare une qui existait déjà, il est fixé par je ne sais quel article superstitieux, qu'il faut immoler trois hommes innocents. Voici comment on procède à cette exécution barbare. Le roi, après avoir tenu secrètement son conseil, envoie un de ses officiers près de la porte qu'il veut réparer. Cet officier a l'air de temps en temps de vouloir appeler quelqu'un; il répète plusieurs

fois le nom que l'on veut donner à cette porte. Il arrive plus d'une fois que les passants, entendant crier après eux, tournent la tête; à l'instant l'officier, aidé d'autres hommes apostés, tout auprès, arrêtent trois de ceux qui ont regardé. Leur mort est dès lors irrévocablement résolue. Aucun service, aucune promesse, aucun sacrifice, ne peut les délivrer. On pratique dans l'intérieur de la porte une fosse, on place par dessus, à une certaine hauteur, une énorme poutre, cette poutre est soutenue par deux cordes et suspendue horizontalement à peu près comme celle dont on se sert dans les pressoirs. Au jour marqué pour ce fatal et horrible sacrifice, on donne un repas splendide aux trois infortunés. On les conduit ensuite en cérémonie à la fatale fosse. Le roi et toute la cour viennent les saluer. Le roi les charge, en son particulier, de bien garder la porte qui va leur être confiée, et de venir avertir si les ennemis ou les rebelles se présentaient pour prendre la ville. A l'instant on coupe les cordes, et les malheureuses victimes de la répétition sont écrasées sous la lourde masse qui tombe sur leur tête. Les Siamois croient que ces infortunés sont métamorphosés en ces génies qu'ils appellent *phi*. De simples particuliers commettent quelquefois cet horrible homicide sur la personne de leurs esclaves, pour les établir gardiens, comme ils disent, du trésor qu'ils ont enfoui.—Letter of Bishop Bruguière, in *Annales de l'association de la Propagation de la Foi*, volume V, 1831, page 164.

Bruguière was in Siam a rather short time (1829-1831), and perhaps got the story from some older source; Anna was neither the first nor the last European writer on Siam to quote without acknowledgement large sections of earlier books. The old stories keep cropping up again and again, and are attributed to successive reigns from the 17th century to the 20th. Not many writers are as scrupulous as Sir John Bowring and Pallegoix. Bowring, who made a quick but intelligent study of Siam in 1855, says he could find no vestige of the practice described by Bruguière: "It has probably fallen into desuetude," he says. (*The Kingdom and People of Siam*, I, 140.) Pallegoix says: "Quant à moi, je me refuse à voir la moindre chose de semblable dans les annales de Siam, et je ne voudrais pas affirmer le fait tel qu'il le raconte."

(*Description du royaume Thai ou Siam* II, 50.) He then goes on to quote Bruguière's letter in full, and it was doubtless this quotation that came to Anna's attention.

22. Bowring, I, 410.

23. See note 5.

24. An officer in the suite of Sir Harry Ord wrote an account of the "Astronomical Fête" for the Bangkok Calendar of 1870; it has been reprinted in Bacon, *Siam, the Land of the White Elephant* (New York, 1899). For the King's remark about the reason for the villagers' celebration, see Alabaster, op. cit., 10.

25. Frankfurter, *King Mongkut* (JSS I).

